THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume 5 - 6

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RECORD OF THE DARKER RACE

Vol. 5, No. 1 NOVEMBER, 1912 Whole No. 25

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PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 26 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Edited by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, W. S. Braithwaite, M. W. Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and others.

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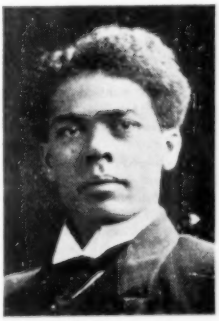

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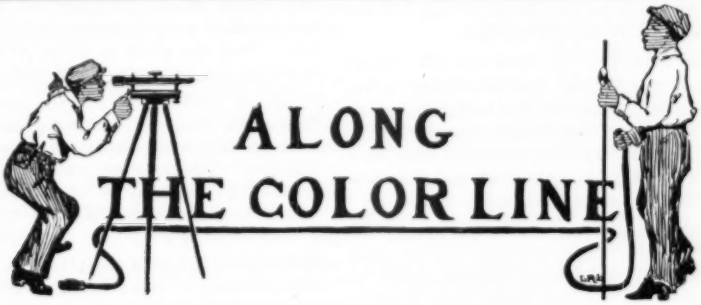


POLITICAL.

COLORED women will vote in the next presidential election as follows:

California	6,936
Colorado	3,861
Idaho	187
Utah	313
Washington	1,697
Wyoming	494
Total (six States)	13,488

¶ In Kentucky women are being allowed to vote in school elections. A report comes from Hopkinsville showing that more interest is being taken in registration by the colored women than by the white women, 190 of the former registering as against 85 whites.

¶ Laurens County, Ga., had in 1900, 14,565 white persons and 11,338 colored persons. To-day it probably has at least 30,000 inhabitants, and perhaps 6,000 males of voting age. There were registered in October 3,781 qualified voters, of whom only fifty-four were Negroes. A report in the Savannah *News* says: "It is probable that there will not be a single Negro vote cast here."

¶ It is probable that woman's suffrage will be inaugurated in Hawaii within a short time and that no color line will be drawn.

ECONOMICS.

DEAL JACKSON, a Negro, brought to market in South Georgia, on September 3, the first bale of cotton made this season in the entire South. He has both white and colored tenants on his farm.

¶ A. H. Holmes, a prominent Negro farmer, has grown two acres of rice at McRae, Ga., in a region where it was not thought hitherto that rice could be raised.

¶ After a long fight for excluding Negroes the Molders' International Union of America is again considering the question of admitting them. One speaker said in their last convention:

"The Negro has demonstrated that he is a capable mechanic, and is quite able to fill the place of the white laborer. The Southern foundry managers are making capital out of the race prejudice between the white and the colored molders, and if we do not raise the colored worker to our standard he will drag us down to his.

"We can hardly find language strong enough to express our opinion of the feudal lords, when we consider the days when the laborer was bought and sold with the land. Our evolution from a condition of slavery to the freedom that we now enjoy was slow, but we now withhold our aid from the Negro, who is trying to gain the same freedom.

"How can you get the Negro organized unless you are willing to meet with him? His interests are identical with yours. Everyone knows that this condition will have to be met, yet some of us want to postpone the day and let others take the responsibility. Do not let your race prejudice warp your judgment."

¶ In the waiters' strike in Boston eighty colored waiters from New York were brought in as strikebreakers.

¶ Two thousand five hundred colored cotton pickers are at work on the 8,000 acres of cotton which the Taft ranch, of San Patricio County of Texas, has planted.

¶ In Columbus, O., there are 121 colored people in business and twenty-five in the professions. Among the businesses represented are six coal dealers, four confectioners, three contractors, three feed merchants, four hotels, eight restaurants and five shoemakers.

¶ In Houston, Tex., the colored people have thirty barber shops, one bank, one dry goods store, three undertaking establishments, two bakeries, six printing offices, forty groceries, five newspapers, twelve contractors, one brickyard, nine lawyers, four dentists, sixteen doctors, three drug stores, ten real-estate agents, six notary publics, five peace officers, two carriage and wagon manufactories, twenty-one blacksmith shops, thirty restaurants, four hotels, two insurance associations, one badge factory, two beauty parlors, three jewelers, four ice-cream factories, one business college, two night schools, two architects, sixteen hucksters, fourteen trained nurses, twelve music teachers, fifty dressmakers, one kindergarten, six manicurists, two chiropodists, one veterinary surgeon, three cemeteries, eighteen painters, six cabinetmakers, three plasterers, one sign painter, one second-hand store, six cement contractors, two stone cutters, fourteen brick masons, three tailor shops, four hack lines, two steam laundries and two photographers.

¶ In Bryan, Tex., the wages of colored laborers have been gradually increasing until they get from $1.50 to $2.50 a day. Among them will be found bricklayers, carpenters, grocers, real-estate agents, insurance agents, barbers and one physician. All of these are meeting with success. A colored undertaking establishment, recently begun with a capital of $2,000, is receiving support. Negroes are rapidly buying property and building better homes, thus causing the whites who have colored renters to put up more comfortable houses. In and near Bryan are Negroes owning from 500 to 1,000 acres of some of the best land in this State.

¶ M. Delcasse, French Minister of Marine, has appointed Captain Moltenot to the full command of a war vessel. M. Moltenot is a full-blooded Negro.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

THE national committee of management of the Mosaic Templars of America have had their annual meeting in Little Rock, Ark. They are about to invest $70,000 in securities and real estate, and have $51,000 in their endowment fund.

¶ Augusta, Ga., has a colored civic and improvement league, supported by membership fees. They have supported during the summer two playgrounds for children, done neighborhood work and plan to employ a colored district nurse.

¶ The seventh annual report of the colored branch library of Louisville, Ky., shows that the circulation has grown from 17,831 the first year to 73,462. The books were loaned from the central branch and three stations and through forty-eight classroom collections. Thirty per cent. of the circulation was fiction; the attendance at the story hour was 1,873; 1,582 reference questions were looked up and 244 meetings held.

¶ A colored community named Norwood, near Indianapolis, is to have a public library with about 1,000 books. Miss Ada B. Harris, principal of the local school, has been chief promoter of the project, and the citizens themselves have cleaned and remodeled the building, while local firms have given much of the furniture.

¶ Colorado College has a colored athlete by the name of Holmes. He has done 100 yards in ten seconds. The Denver *Post* says:

"Holmes will be the target of every player in the State. On account of his color there will be a general demand to see him leaving the field on a stretcher, but anyone that knows the way Holmes can play football will be safe enough in venturing to say that he will be able to take care of himself."

¶ A package of currency containing $55,000 was mysteriously extracted from a shipment by the First National Bank of Pensacola, Fla. It was recently found in the rear of the bank by the Negro janitor and turned over to the authorities.

¶ A group of colored people at Nyack, N. Y., recently gave an entertainment and raised $130 for the benefit of the Nyack Hospital.

¶ Chattanooga, Tenn., has established a colored park and playground for the colored people by purchasing nine and one-half acres on Orchard Knob.

¶ New Orleans is going to attempt a Negro daily newspaper called *The Daily Spokesman*. The paper is to have its own printing plant.

¶ The women's convention, auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, reported for the fiscal year $26,968 raised. Of this $18,992 was spent on the National Training School. Local organizations raised $8,000 in addition to this.

EDUCATION.

THE fight against colored schools still goes on in certain parts of the South. Louisiana, which has by far the largest percentage of colored illiteracy of any State in the United States, is especially active in spoiling the Negro schools. New Orleans stops the education of colored children with the sixth grade and has recently appointed to the colored schools twenty-four white teachers, who will go to the colored schools to get experience, and after a month or two will be appointed to white schools and other raw recruits appointed to take their places. The board has also refused to establish a night school for colored people. The excuse given for not appointing colored teachers was that only five passed the examination; but the charge is made that the board did not intend that colored teachers should pass the examination under any circumstances.

¶ A colored man sends the following letter to a New Orleans paper:

September 15, 1912.

Editor *The Item*,
City.

DEAR SIR:

It is not clear to us why the school board at its last meeting assigned twenty-four white normal girls to teach in the colored public schools. Can it be that colored schools are the best places for the normal girls to secure experience in order to teach white children? Or is it true that, contrary to the long-cherished traditions of the South, these girls prefer to serve colored children to the children of their own race? Perhaps these positions were given to control votes; maybe to save the ring from defeat. However, in justice to the colored children of this city, these schools ought to be taught by colored teachers, as there ought to be no semblance of social equality in our schools. These normal girls are placing themselves in a position where they are not wanted, and, in justice to themselves and their friends, they ought to immediately resign.

Very respectfully yours,
JOHN F. GUILLAUME.

¶ The legislature of Louisiana has ordered the Southern University, a colored State school, to sell all its property in New Orleans and find a location in the country.

¶ President G. E. Gates, of Fisk University, has resigned his position on account of ill health. President Gates was in a railroad accident last spring, and in consequence suffered a breakdown. He is said to be in a serious condition now.

¶ Allen LeRoy Locke, formerly a Rhodes scholar and a graduate of Harvard, has accepted the position of assistant professor of English in the Teachers' College, Howard University.

¶ Dr. Charles H. Marshall has been appointed a member of the board of education of the District of Columbia. He is a graduate of the Union University, Richmond, and of the Howard University Medical School.

¶ School No. 91, in Baltimore, has been turned over to the colored pupils. It was formerly a white school. There was much opposition to the transfer.

¶ Miss Clara M. Standish of Talladega College, Ala., writes to the New Bedford *Standard*:

"One-half of the Negroes get no schooling whatever. The average child in the South, white as well as black, who attends school at all, stops with the third grade. In schoolhouses costing an average of $275 each, under teachers receiving an average salary of $25 a month, the children in actual attendance received five cents' worth of education a day for forty-seven days only in the year."

¶ New Negro schools are being built at Tampa, Fla., and Fernwood, Miss., by State authorities. Negroes themselves are starting institutions in Helena, Ark., and Pine Bluff, Ark.

¶ Mr. W. T. S. Jackson, a teacher in the M Street High School, Washington, and a graduate of Amherst College, has been made

principal of the colored business high school, Washington, D. C.

¶ For the first time in fifteen years the Baltimore County school board has decided to increase the salaries of colored teachers. The increase will be 14 per cent.

¶ Bishop Thirkield says of the public schools of Atlanta, Ga.:

"Not only are the white children unprovided for, but thousands of colored children cannot be accommodated in either session of the public schools. This means that they are permitted to run wild on the streets in contact with the lower life of the city. If criminal instincts are developed and these colored children thrown in the way of vice the authorities of this city are responsible.

"I have studied this situation for some years and am utterly amazed at the lack of foresight in building schoolhouses merely for the sake of saving on an investment which promises the largest returns in the moral and industrial life of the city."

¶ Tuskegee Institute has opened with the largest enrollment in its history. The plant consists now of 2,345 acres of land and 108 buildings valued at $1,339,248. The endowment fund is $1,401,826, not including 19,910 acres of unsold government land valued at $300,000. There are 9,000 graduates and former students.

¶ A colored woman teaching in Lowndes County, Ala., says in an appeal for funds:

"Where I am now working there are 27,000 colored people and about 1,500 whites. In my school district there are nearly 400 children. I carry on this work eight months in the year and receive for it $290, out of which I pay three teachers and two extra teachers. The State provides for three months' schooling, but practically I am working without any salary. The only way I can run the school eight months is to solicit funds from persons interested in the work of Negro education.

"I have been trying desperately to put up an adequate school building for the hundreds of children clamoring to get an education. To complete it and furnish it with seats I need about $800."

¶ About twenty-five years ago Miss Katherine Drexel, of the wealthy Drexel family of Philadelphia, took the veil of a nun and announced her intention of founding a Catholic order for the education of the Indian and colored race. Colored schools have been opened at Rock Castle, Va., Nashville, Tenn., two in Philadelphia, one in New York, one in Chicago and one in Columbus, O. These Catholic schools are non-sectarian in the sense that they receive children of all denominations; they are taught, however, by Catholic sisters.

¶ J. Pierpont Morgan has agreed to give $10,000 toward a $60,000 fund for the St. Paul's Episcopal School for Negroes at Lawrenceville, Va.

¶ The American Church Institute for Negroes in its sixth annual report shows that $89,582 has been raised for the support of its six schools during the year. The report contains a careful study of the needs of Negro education.

THE CHURCH.

THE twentieth annual meeting of the colored convocation of the diocese of Southern Virginia was held recently. Thirty churches and missions reported 1,700 communicants and $6,000 raised by the colored people.

¶ Over 1,000 colored people from four States met in New Orleans to greet Bishop Thirkield, of the M. E. Church, who came to take special charge of colored work.

¶ The total membership of the Negro Baptist Church in America is now reported to be 2,444,055. There are 18,987 churches worth $25,000,000.

¶ Rev. J. S. Quarles of Columbia, S. C., has been appointed archdeacon of that diocese.

¶ For thirty-three years the colored Baptists have been engaged in missionary work in Africa. They have sent in all sixty-two missionaries and fifteen native workers; they have established eighty churches, 300 outstations and own about $30,000 worth of property on the West Coast. The Rev. L. G. Jordan is at present the secretary in charge of the work.

¶ Pope Leo XIII. established two apostolic vicariates in equatorial Africa; that of Northern Nyanza and that of the Upper Nile. In the first there are 98,000 Catholics and fifty-eight schools and eleven hospitals. In the vicariate of the Upper Nile there are 19,000 Catholics and thirteen schools with fourteen medical institutions.

MEETINGS.

THE thirty-second annual meeting of the True Reformers has taken place in Richmond with delegates from all States of the United States. Mr. Floyd Ross was placed at the head of the order.

¶ Colored people in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are proceeding with their arrangements for celebrating the jubilee of emancipation at Philadelphia next year.

¶ The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the issuance of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation took place in Washington, D. C. President Taft was one of the speakers.

¶ The Society of American Indians held its second annual conference at Ohio State University, October 2 to 7.

¶ Many Negro fairs are being held in the South. The fifth annual exhibition of the Tennessee Colored Fair Association was held in Nashville and was unusually successful. The annual colored fair was held in Memphis.

¶ The fifth annual session of the Arkansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs convened in Pine Bluff. The organization is chiefly concerned in raising funds for a Negro reformatory.

PERSONAL.

L. R. HENDERSON, a colored man of Greensboro, N. C., has joined the United States army. He is 21 years old, stands six feet three inches in his bare feet and weighs 171 pounds.

¶ Spurred by recent attacks upon the civil service in Philadelphia, Assistant Director Reed has appointed Fred. W. Matheas as foreman of repairs at $850 a year in the city street repair corps.

"I was very glad," Mr. Reed said, "to give this man the job. He is a graduate of the University of Maine in civil engineering and came to this city several months ago asking for employment in municipal work. I asked him if he was willing to begin as a laborer and he promptly said he was and hoped by good work to fit himself for preferment. He started as a laborer and then took a civil-service examination for a better position, with the result that he came out second on the list and has been appointed to his present place." Matheas is colored.

¶ Rice Barnett, one of the best-known colored men in Zanesville, O., is dead.

¶ A memorial meeting to honor the late George F. T. Cook, formerly superintendent of colored schools of the District of Columbia, is planned.

¶ Dr. A. C. McClennan, the founder of a colored hospital in Charleston, S. C., is dead. In sixteen years he has raised $60,000 for the hospital, beside the annual cost of maintenance, $3,500. One of his white co-workers said:

"Knowing Dr. McClennan well, it is no exaggeration to say that this community can ill afford to lose a man of his stamp. He belonged to that class of refined colored men who, while standing true to his own race, never ceased to show respect to those of a different race. His friends were numbered among white and colored. They lament his taking off. I shall drop a tear upon his newly made grave."

¶ The celebrated Millie-Christine twins died in Wilmington, N. C., October 9, at the home of the pair. Millie died first, and the other within a few hours.

The twins, who were colored, had two heads and two sets of lower extremities, but had the same body. They had been exhibited all over this country and in Europe, and could speak several languages fluently. They were born in slavery and were sold for $40,000 for exhibition purposes.

¶ The Rev. Felix A. Curtright came to Joliet, Ill., two years ago with nothing. Since then he has bought and paid for a church, costing $12,000 and established a social center. The building is open all the time; there are regular lectures, an employment bureau, night school, restaurant and baths.

¶ Mr. W. H. Ellis of New York, a man of international fame, is pushing a claim of $105,000,000 against the Mexican government. Mr. Ellis, who is a broker and promoter, is remembered as the energetic American who, after the death of Frank D. Loomis, the Assistant Secretary of State, took the treaty papers to Abyssinia.

¶ In the recent wreck of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railway, P. B. Cleveland, a porter on one of the Pullman cars, had his left arm broken; he, nevertheless, kept on his work of rescue, taking some of the last persons from the burning car.

FOREIGN.

A MEMORIAL meeting on the death of the late Dr. E. W. Blyden has been held in Lagos, West Africa, and the Blyden memorial committee was formed. The Hon. C. A. Sapara Williams, of the legislative council, presided. The Right Rev. Bishop Johnson was the principal speaker. The meeting decided upon a life-sized portrait and a scholarship or technical school.

¶ The free Negroes of the Gulf Coast of Africa and of the German colony of Kamerun are raising and exporting over 40,000 tons of cocoa each year. This whole development is said to be the result of mission schools.

¶ The first blue book on native affairs published by the Union government of South Africa forms a volume of 400 pages. The report shows that while $1,500,000 is raised from native taxation, only $55,000 is spent on native education.

THE GHETTO.

ATLANTA, GA., is trying to register and tax its colored washerwomen. Colored people are protesting.

¶ Difficulties are continually arising on the "Jim Crow" street cars in the South. Recent fights are reported in Houston, Tex., Louisville, Ky., and Mobile, Ala.

¶ A white woman ran away from the hospital in Cincinnati, O., because a colored woman was on a cot next to her.

¶ In Kansas City, Mo., a Negro clerk in the city treasurer's office was discharged because he was black. The civil-service commission decided that the colored man had been unjustly removed, but had no power to reinstate him.

¶ The appointment of a colored teacher in the Sexton School, Chicago, has led to a strike on the part of some of the white pupils.

¶ A local paper reports: "Hatred of the Negro and those who employ Negroes has been carried to an outrageous extreme in Briartown, Okla. Three farmers have been shot there because they employed Negro cotton pickers in violation of local sentiment. It is thought that two of the farmers will die. Heretofore, Negroes never have been allowed to stay in the Briartown section. When it became known that the three farmers had imported Negro help armed mobs formed and marched to the farms. The farmers were shot when defending themselves, their families, the Negro and the farm property against the mobs. Certainly, if the officials of Oklahoma have any respect for themselves and their State, they will ferret out and punish the assailants of the three men and their employees."

¶ White Southerners in Newburgh, N. Y., tried to start a row because colored people were eating in the same Chinese chop suey restaurant.

¶ When Negro property owners of Harlem met to discuss the colored "invasion," Mr. John E. Nail, a colored real-estate agent, addressed the meeting and declared that property depreciation following the coming into the neighborhood of a Negro family was due to panic on the part of the white owners.

"If a Negro family gets in a house on your block," said he, "don't run away. If your tenants move out don't rent to Negroes at a lower rate. Just get together and stick and the chances are you will find your houses will fill up with white families who will learn that the Negro family is minding its own affairs and is above the average in intelligence. If you get scared and throw your property on the market or put in Negro tenants you lose money, because Negro tenants do not pay as much as white ones."

¶ In Summit Township, Kansas, there is trouble over the local school. There are a larger number of Negro families in the district than white families, but there are more white children to attend the school than colored children. The Negroes own the most land and pay a greater amount of the taxes and they, standing on their constitutional rights, elect Negroes as members of the school board. To this the white patrons object, but it does little or no good. The school board employed Mrs. Rosa Johnson, a colored teacher of Alma, Kan., to teach the school, but county superintendent W. E. Connelly refused to indorse her teacher's certificate and she is therefore debarred from taking charge of the school officially. She appeared there one morning, but the white people were at the schoolhouse and Mrs. Johnson did not call school to order.

Two or three white teachers have been sent to the district to get the job, but the board did not employ them, saying they had already

employed a teacher. Just when the school will begin cannot be told at this time, and what the outcome of the trouble in No. 67 will be is also a mystery.

¶ A Boston woman living in Washington has discovered that her husband has colored blood.

¶ Kansas City firemen recently refused to rescue workmen who were entombed beneath a burning building. "Why risk our lives? We know of only two there; they are dead, undoubtedly—and Negroes."

¶ The city of Macon, Ga., has removed its "red-light" district to the vicinity of a Negro church. The church has protested and is preparing to move.

¶ A mob in Dawsonville, Ga., has burned a Negro church and run a Negro tenant away from his home.

¶ A Buckingham County, Va., jury brought in such a curious verdict to deprive colored people of 342 acres of land that appeal has been made to the Supreme Court of Appeals in the case.

¶ In Guthrie, Okla., two colored women with their little girls drew water with their own cups from a public fountain. For this they were told that "Niggers" were not allowed there, and one of them was knocked down by a policeman.

CRIME.

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last report:

¶ At Bakersfield, Cal., an unknown Negro accused of attacking a child. At Cullings, Ga., "Bob." Edwards, suspected of complicity in attacking a girl. He was shot, dragged through the streets and mutilated. At Americus, Ga., a Negro, Yarborough, accused of attacking a girl. In Rawlins, Wyo., a colored man, Wigfall, was lynched by the convicts. He was charged with the assault of an old woman. At Shreveport, La., fifty men killed a half-witted Negro, "Sam." Johnson. He was accused of killing a white lawyer.

¶ The governor of Georgia declared martial law and sent 167 soldiers and officers to protect six Negroes who were being tried for criminal assault in Forsythe County. Two of the Negroes were sentenced to be hanged.

¶ An unusual number of colored men have been murdered this month:

One at Swaynesboro, Ga., supposed to have been killed by unknown white men. At Bristol, Va., a steward of a hotel killed a Negro bellboy. At Huntsville, Ala., a white man killed a colored laborer. At New Orleans an old colored man was killed by a white man. In Marion County, Ala., Willis Perkins was killed by a party of white men for no apparent cause. In Homer, La., a prominent farmer shot and killed a Negro, John Woods. At Fitzgerald, Ga., a prominent dentist accused a Negro of stealing and shot him dead when the Negro tried to run away. Forest Boland of Lucedale, Miss., was recently killed because he had testified against white liquor sellers.

¶ A white man in York, Pa., shoved a colored man roughly off the sidewalk. He was stabbed three times with a knife.

¶ Governor Donaghey has given absolute pardon to Robert Armstrong, a Negro convicted and sentenced to be hanged for attacking a white woman. The governor says:

"My reason for granting this pardon is that I have become thoroughly convinced of Armstrong's innocence. Feeling this way about it, there can be no middle ground so far as my action is concerned. He is either guilty or innocent, and believing him innocent, I have pardoned him.

"I have given the case careful thought and study, have read the transcript of the evidence and have considered it in an unbiased and unprejudiced manner. The evidence as disclosed by the transcript does not show the identification of Armstrong by the prosecuting witness to be of such a nature as to convince me of its absolute certainty. The opportunity for her to identify her assailant was limited to the flare of a match as he stood by the bureau in the dark room and to a dim light from a possible street lamp that might have shown through a crack in the window curtain. There is some evidence that she had stated the party might have been a dark-skinned Greek or a mulatto Negro.

"I have every confidence in her honesty and sincerity in this matter, but under all conditions connected with the case I feel that she is bound to be mistaken in her identification.

"Armstrong's defense was an alibi. True, it was Negro testimony, but to prove where a Negro is at night, after working hours, one would ordinarily have to resort to Negro tes-

timony, as it is Negroes with whom he associates. His alibi was apparently made out as well as a Negro alibi could have been proven."

¶ The special grand jury investigating the lynching of Robert Johnson at Pineville, W. Va., refused to indict the lynchers, although there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the murdered man was not guilty.

MUSIC AND ART.

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR, the distinguished composer who died after a four days' illness of pneumonia in London, Eng., on September 1, was buried at Croyden on September 5. The service was held in St. Michael's Church.

W. J. Read, violinist, played the slow movement from Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's violin sonata, and Julien Henry sung "When I Am Dead, My Dearest," selection from the "Six Sorrow Songs," dedicated to the dead composer's wife.

While the body was being removed from the church the funeral march of "Minnehaha," from "Hiawatha," was played by H. L. Balfour, organist of the Royal Choral Society.

Wreaths and flowers from all the principal musical organizations of London, as well as from many professional musicians and friends, were received, and two open broughams filled with wreaths headed the cortege.

¶ Mr. William Speights, tenor, an intelligent singer of skill in the use of his voice and in clear diction, gave an exacting program before a large and enthusiastic audience at Steinert Hall, Boston, Mass., on September 18. He was assisted by Mr. J. Shelton Pollen, pianist, and Mr. Clarence Cameron White, violinist. Mrs. Clarence C. White was the efficient accompanist.

Mr. Speights, who graduated from the New England Conservatory of Music last June, has opened a studio for pupils in vocal training.

¶ A recital was given on September 5 by Mr. J. Elmer Spyglass, baritone, of Toledo, O., at the Trinity Congregational Church, at Pittsburgh, Pa.

¶ Miss Hazel Harrison, the talented young pianist of La Porte, Ind., has been studying under Hugo Van Dalen, in Berlin, Germany, for the past year. She has lately met with the good fortune of having been accepted as a pupil by the distinguished pianist and teacher, Ferrucio Busoni.

Miss Harrison will be heard in concert work during her stay in Berlin.

¶ Miss Helen E. Hagan, pianist, of New Haven, Conn., will begin her student life in France under particularly sad circumstances. She sailed on August 31 for Paris, where she is to study composition and to continue her work in pianoforte. A few days after her departure her mother died at New Haven. Miss Hagan is remembered as the recipient of the Sanford Fellowship at the Yale Conservatory of Music at the last commencement.

¶ "Christophe," an Haitian tragedy, written by Mr. William Edgar Easton of Los Angeles, Cal., was presented this summer at the Gamut Auditorium at Los Angeles. The play is laid in the early nineteenth century, during the brief reign of Christophe. Special music was arranged for the play and given by Wheaton's Orchestra.

¶ Mrs. E. Azalia Hackley, soprano, gave an illustrated lecture and demonstration in voice culture on September 20, at St. John's Church at Springfield, Mass. The Springfield *Republican* notes that "Mrs. Hackley sought to instruct and elevate her audience in the simplest and most unconscious way.

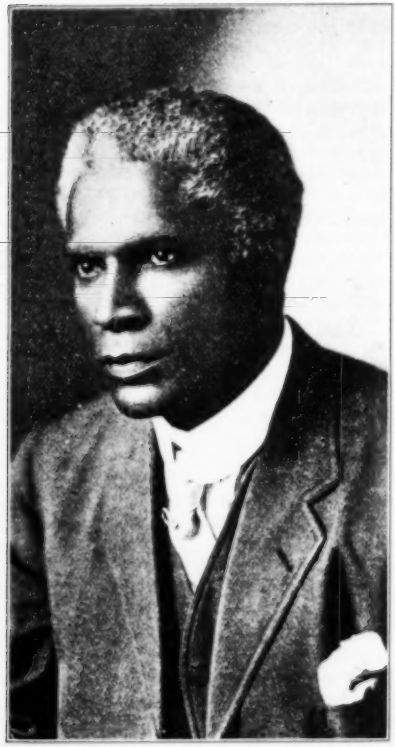
"Her voice is very rich and full and her high notes ran to tremendous power, having a noteworthy force and clearness."

Mrs. Hackley gave a retiring lecture-recital in Jordan Hall, Boston, Mass., on the night of September 30, and was greeted by an appreciative audience.

Mrs. Hackley is now in the fulness of her powers, and it is to be regretted that her splendidly trained voice of remarkable range and clearness is not to be heard again in concert work in Boston.

Mrs. Hackley played her own accompaniments.

¶ On October 8, at the Church of the Holy Spirit, Mattapan, Mass., Mr. Wm. H. Richardson, baritone, of Boston, assisted by Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare, accompanist, appeared in an afternoon of song before the Woman's Club, of which Mrs. Francis Peabody, Jr., is president.



THE LATE FREDERICK LAMAR McGHEE

A GREAT ADVOCATE.

WHEN the twenty-nine colored men met at Niagara Falls in 1905 and stemmed the tide of abject surrender to oppression among Negroes, Frederick L. McGhee of St. Paul was a central figure; and he is the first of that faithful group to die. He was born in Mississippi on the eve of the Civil War, educated in Tennessee and studied law with the well-known E. H. Morris of Chicago. In 1889 he began to practice in St. Paul, and he became, as the years went by, one of the great criminal lawyers of the Northwest.

But McGhee was not simply a lawyer. He was a staunch advocate of democracy, and because he knew by bitter experience how his own dark face had served as excuse for discouraging him and discriminating unfairly against him, he became especially an advocate of the rights of colored men. He stood like a wall against the encroachment of color caste in the Northwest and his influence and his purse were ever ready to help. As a prominent member of the Catholic church and a friend of Archbishop Ireland and others, he was in position to render unusual service.

He died at 51, leaving a widow and one daughter. His pallbearers were among the most prominent men, white and colored,

THE LATE JOSEPHINE SILONE-YATES

J. MAX BARBER, D. D. S.

of St. Paul, and a solemn public memorial service was held afterward.

Those who knew McGhee personally cannot reconcile themselves to his loss. He was to them more than a great and good man—he was a friend.

JOSEPHINE SILONE-YATES.

MRS. JOSEPHINE YATES, youngest daughter of Alexander and Parthenia Reeve-Silone, was born in Mattituck, Suffolk County, N. Y., November 17, 1859, where her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents were long and favorably known as individuals of sterling worth. On the maternal side she is a niece of Rev. J. B. Reeve, D. D., of Philadelphia.

She was educated at the Institute for Colored Youth, Philadelphia, and at the public schools of Newport, R. I., where she took high rank, and graduated from the Rhode Island Normal School in 1879. That fall she began her work as teacher and taught until her marriage to W. W. Yates of Kansas City, Mo., in 1889. During her married life she kept in touch with current events, wrote for the papers and became a leader in club life. She was elected third president of the National Association of Colored Women.

In 1902 she resumed teaching and taught until her death, September 3, 1912. Mrs. Yates was a master of arts of the University of Iowa. She leaves a husband, who is principal of the Lincoln School, Kansas City; a daughter, Josephine, who is a teacher, and a son, Blyden, who is in his junior college year in the University of Kansas. She was a woman of rare personal charm, simple dignity and keen insight.

A PLUCKY MAN.

THIRTY-TWO years ago a brown boy was born in Carolina. He had not only ability but pluck. He was trained in the local schools, and eventually went to Virginia Union University, where he did his academic work; and also was a leader in student activities. On graduating he became editor of the *Voice of the Negro*, and immediately the name of J. Max Barber became known throughout the colored race.

Then came the severest temptation a young man can meet. A little dishonesty to his own ideals, a little truckling diplomacy, and success and a fine income awaited him. This he refused to give. Perhaps there was some arrogance of youth in the decision to hew to the line of his thought and ideal, but it was fine arrogance, and when defeat came and the *Voice* stopped publication, he simply set his teeth and started life again. Only menial employment was open to him, but he took it, faced poverty, and began to study dentistry. For four long years he studied, until last spring, when he graduated from a Philadelphia dental college, among the best in the class.

For the first two years of its existence THE CRISIS was glad to carry Mr. Barber's name on its title page among its contributing editors as some slight token of appreciation for a plucky man.

HENRY L. PHILLIPS.

THE raising of the rector of the Church of the Crucifixion in Philadelphia to the archdeaconate marks an era in the history of colored men in America. Henry L. Phillips was born in Jamaica in 1847. In his own words:

"Father was a planter of sugar cane and ginger. At the usual age I went to a board-

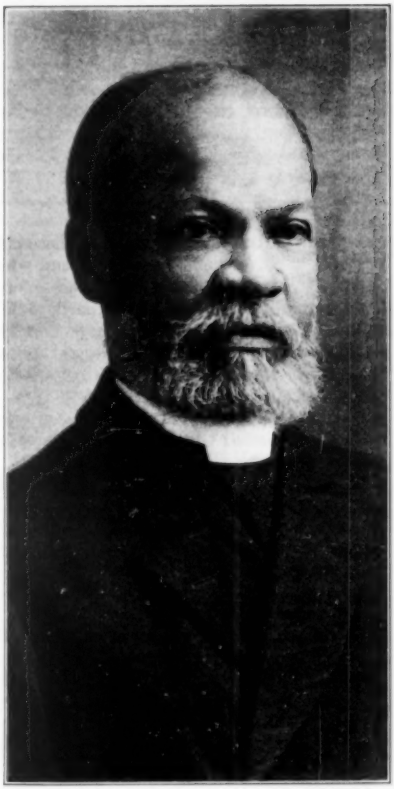
ing school, the Moravian Training School at Fairfield. In 1868, at the age of 21, I left to teach in St. Croix, Danish West Indies. In 1870 I came to Philadelphia.

"After two years of private study, I entered the Philadelphia Divinity School and was graduated and ordained in 1875."

Mr. Phillips is thus the oldest colored American priest in point of service in the Episcopal Church. His great work has been the upbuilding of the Church of the Crucifixion in Philadelphia, which, as he says, "was institutional when that kind of work was little known." Young peoples' clubs, singing societies, lecture courses, kindergartens and other activities have been carried on in the parish house for twenty-five years.

But Mr. Phillips' energies have not been confined to his church. He is trustee of the Starr Center for Settlement Work, member of the Law and Order Society, and recently appointed by Mayor Blankenberg a member of the vice commission; he is president of the Home for the Homeless, and of the organization for the protection of colored women, and trustee of several schools.

Out of his work at the Crucifixion have sprung three other churches. It was fitting that in June, 1912, this indefatigable worker should have been made archdeacon for colored work in the diocese of Pennsylvania. His own good words will best close this sketch: "I have always worked on the principle that man is greater than any church or organization. If anyone needs me, and I can be of service to him, I am not to stop and ask about his religious affiliations before I decide to do anything."



THE VENERABLE HENRY L. PHILLIPS
Archdeacon in Pennsylvania

GARRISON AT BENNINGTON

By WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD

(*Written for* THE CRISIS.)

Here, where the meadow grasses fringed the street
And shadows fell from the green mountain height,
He crooned above his types, hearing the sweet
Voices of future fame by day and night.
And here to him the footworn Quaker came
Bearing the burden of a race's wrong,
His lonely eyes alight with freedom's flame,
His stammering lips raptured with freedom's song.

Forth from this place the summoned warrior went
Snow white in armor and the sword in hand
That from its aim was never to be bent
Till slavery fell upon the blood-soaked land.
Fit spot—most fit—for that high trumpet call
That comes, one day, welcomed or spurned, to all.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

There is still some discussion in both the colored and white press concerning the colored vote more particularly with regard to Mr. Roosevelt. *Harper's Weekly* says that Mr. Roosevelt has dropped the subject because the Southerners did not "nibble at the bait," and continues:

"That indicates the other reason why Roosevelt himself has not been discussing his new plan with the colored brother. If it has not helped him in the South, it has positively and substantially weakened him in the North—and he knows it. Unhappily, there are conscientious and honorable people in his motley following, and not a few of them are of the anti-slavery strain. Such people have not approved, or pretended to approve, his sudden desertion of the Southern Negro after all his loud declaration of friendship for them. Neither could they perceive the slightest basis in reason or morals for his distinction between Southern Negroes and Northern Negroes. There is none. The only basis for that distinction was and is political.

"The maneuver has failed—failed completely and ignominiously. It is the worst kind of failure, for his act is not bitterly denounced, it is not raged at, it is laughed at. A demagogue can thrive on denunciation and hatred, but ridicule and indifference are fatal."

The Southern papers have been spurred to new arguments because of Roosevelt's Southern trip. The Birmingham *Age-Herald* cannot forget the past:

"The South, and particularly Alabama, cannot forget his attitude toward the Republican party of the State right after Alabama adopted her present constitution, at which time he was President. He declared that it was his purpose to support the building up of a white man's party in Alabama, and taking him at his word the Republicans met in convention—the most enthusiastic convention in the history of the party in this State—and it was addressed by a special envoy from the President in the person of Judge Pritchard of North Carolina. The Negroes were not allowed to even look on. A very short while after the President proceeded to cut off heads of every officeholder that participated in the 'lily-white' movement, and the federal patronage again fell into the hands of the regulars and Booker T. Washington.

"The colonel, therefore, should not feel peevish if the people of Alabama are a little bit inclined to be from Missouri regarding his sudden conversion to a white man's party in the South."

The Atlanta *Journal*, in an editorial entitled "Go Home, Colonel," says, among other things:

"If you fancy that the pharisaic pose you have recently assumed on the Negro question will win you this section's support, you are pitiably deceived. You have straddled this issue in both the North and the South, fraternizing with the Negro there and execrating him here.

"Do you think we are so stupid as not to see through this two-faced and impudent game?

"Did you not bid might and main for the support of the Negro delegates at Chicago?

"Would you ever have pretended this sudden change of heart had you succeeded in capturing the machinery of that party as you violently strove to do?

"Why was it, colonel, that you never awoke to the corrupting influence of the colored delegates from the South until you found that they would no longer serve but would embarrass your political schemes?

"The whole country knows that no Republican ever went further or stooped lower than you for these same Negro delegates when you needed them to run your particular machine."

The colored ministers of Cincinnati have

been asking ex-Senator Foraker about the situation, and Foraker says that the "Bull Moose is flirting with the Lily Whites."

President Taft in a recent interview says:

"Had the colored delegates from the South to the Republican national convention yielded to the influences the newspapers said were dangled before their eyes, the Progressive party leaders might have viewed differently their fitness for participation in the Progressive party's convention.

"It occurs to me that instead of the Southern colored Republicans being declared as disqualified to participate in the activities of the new party, the very fact of their loyalty to a cause they had been elected to represent in our national convention should have commended them to the Progressive party's leaders.

"A race which in fifty years has reduced its illiteracy from 95 to about 30 per cent. is certainly deserving of more respectful consideration than it received from the Progressive party leaders."

It must have taken some urging to force Assistant Attorney-General Lewis into the ring against his first love, but he certainly struck heavily in his Ohio and New Jersey speeches:

"The disfranchisement of eight millions of citizens in the South, from party representation in the new party, was the worst blow that the race has received in the last fifty years, because ours is a party government; because it is the only means through which the citizen can make his ideas of government prevail; and when he is denied his representation there he is denied a fundamental right, a right most essential to his liberty and his happiness.

"I sat in the gallery of the coliseum at the birth of the new party. I saw men and women work themselves into a frenzy of enthusiasm. I heard the magnificent keynote of Senator Beveridge, when he said: 'We stand for a nobler America. We stand for an undivided nation. We stand for a broader liberty and a fuller justice. * * * We stand for mutual helpfulness instead of mutual hate. We stand for equal rights as a fact of life instead of a catchword of politics. * * * We battle for the actual rights of man.'

"For an hour and a half the great orator developed his theme. I listened to the strains of music of 'John Brown's Body' and the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic.' My heart sank within me when I thought that there were men outside clamoring for admission who were denied on account of their race and color. Since all men did not include Southern Negroes, I could not feel that John Brown's soul was marching there. When that vast audience sang the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic,' 'as Christ died to make men holy let us die to make men free,' I felt that human cant and hypocrisy could go no further; it had reached its fitting climax."

COLERIDGE-TAYLOR.

The death of Coleridge-Taylor has brought much comment on his work. Almost without exception the praise has been universal. Of course, Phillip Hale, the dyspeptic and somewhat erratic critic of Boston, had to have his usual fling at the Negro.

Musical America says of Taylor:

"In the musical circles of Great Britain he was a force and a power, a name which with that of Elgar represented the nation's most individual output in the domain of choral music, at any rate. His 'Hiawatha,' which has made his name better known than anything else he has written, is a work that will last for many years to come. So, too, his 'Atonement,' perhaps the finest passion service of modern times. * * * Though surrounded by the influences that are at work in Europe to-day, he retained his individuality to the end, developing his style, however, and evincing new ideas in each succeeding work. * * * His untimely death at the age of 37, a short life—like those of Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin and Hugo Wolf—has robbed the world of one of its noblest singers, one of those few men of modern times who found expression in the language of musical song, a lyricist of power and worth, and, what is perhaps most significant, the ablest musician the Negro race has yet produced."

Arthur M. Abell, the well-known reviewer of Berlin, Germany, says of the composer in the *Musical Courier:*

"As the first and only Negro composer of real importance, his death constitutes a great loss to his race, but it is also more than that; it is a loss to the musical world at large. For Coleridge-Taylor was a composer of noteworthy achievement and still greater promise. Even Berlin will feel his loss, for

it was the composer's intention to come here early in the season and personally conduct the first European performance of his new violin concerto in G minor. * * * He was a man of sterling character, he was a good husband and father and a staunch and loyal friend."

The London *Daily Telegraph* says:

"The work of Coleridge-Taylor must be regarded as adding lustre to the history of musical composition in England. That his career, already so fruitful, should have been cut off while he was at the height of his artistic power, is a tragedy whose pathos will be universally recognized."

The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* says that he exemplifies the genius of the African race in music, and continues: "Coleridge-Taylor was to modern music what our American Negro poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar, was to literature. His genius was not of the very highest order, but it was of elevated rank. He never set his pen to an ignoble or unworthy score. The world of melody is impoverished by the premature termination of the labors of one who represented by far the best achievement of his race in his chosen field of endeavor."

A writer in the New York *Tribune* speaks of Mr. Taylor's visit to the Litchfield County Choral Union in 1910, and says: "Coleridge-Taylor, who endeared himself to all by his charming personality, repeatedly by word of mouth and in letters assured me and others that the whole-hearted welcome accorded him by his host and hostess at Norfolk and the cordiality with which he was received by those he met there had filled him with new energy, enthusiasm and love for work."

The Syracuse *Post-Standard*, remembering the artist's descent, says that Providence did not visit upon the offspring of this union the penalty which racial amalgamation is commonly supposed to incur. "He was," it continues, "one of the greatest artists in England."

Miss Natalie Curtis calls attention to the talent of the colored people for music—a talent which in Coleridge-Taylor's case received in England encouragement and honor, whereas in our own country the barrier of race has kept colored musicians, with one or two exceptions, in the music hall, and has made them ashamed of their best heritage—the folk music of the old plantation.

THE NEGRO AND THE UNIONS.

There are several indications that the white and black workingmen are beginning to get together. Now and then one hears the old attitude of the Negro echoed as in the *Western Outlook*, a colored paper, which says:

"We have always contended that unions are no benefit to the Negro and will not tolerate him in them only when they are to be benefited. Take the barbers' union—they are glad to have Negroes as members. Why? Because they control most of the good trade among the whites, and it helps white barbers to keep up prices. In this case they are a benefit to the union. But how is it in other branches of trade? It was only last week Messrs. Siebe & Sons, proprietors of Shell Mound Park, came to us and told us that union musicians want them to sign a contract on January 1, 1913, not to rent the park to any one, club or society, that does not employ union music. He said he had refused to sign, as he could see at a glance it would only affect colored organizations who gave picnics out there."

On the other hand, down in Louisiana white men have begun to get a taste of the way in which colored laborers are treated. The white timber workers tried to organize the workingmen into a union. Their committee of defense in an appeal says:

"When the forest slaves of Louisiana and Texas revolted against peonage, and began, about two years ago, the organization of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, an industrial union, taking in all the workers in the sawmills and camps, the lumber kings at once recognized the power inherent in such a movement and immediately began a campaign of lying and violence against the union and all persons connected with it or suspected of sympathizing with us.

"First among the cries they raised against us was, of course, the old bunco cries of 'white supremacy' and 'social equality,' coupled with that other cry, 'they are organizing the Negroes against the whites,' which the capitalists and landlords of the South and their political buzzard and social carrion crows always raise in order to justify the slugging and assassination of white and colored workingmen who seek to organize and better the condition of their class. From the day you, the Negro workers, were 'freed,' down to the present hour, these cries have been used to cloak the vilest crimes against

the workers, white and colored, and to hide the wholesale rape of the commonwealth of the South by as soulless and cold-blooded a set of industrial scalawags and carpetbaggers as ever drew the breath of life.

"For a generation, under the influence of these specious cries, they have kept us fighting each other—us to secure the 'white supremacy' of a tramp and you the 'social equality' of a vagrant. Our fathers 'fell for it,' but we, their children, have come to the conclusion that porterhouse steaks and champagne will look as well on our tables as on those of the industrial scalawags and carpetbaggers; that the 'white supremacy' that means starvation wages and child slavery for us and the 'social equality' that means the same for you, though they may mean the 'high life' and 'Christian civilization' to the lumber kings and landlords, will have to go. As far as we, the workers of the South, are concerned, the only 'supremacy' and 'equality' they have ever granted us is the supremacy of misery and the equality of rags. This supremacy and this equality we, the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, mean to stand no longer than we have an organization big and strong enough to enforce our demands, chief among which is 'A man's life for all the workers in the mills and forests of the South.' Because the Negro workers comprise one-half or more of the labor employed in the Southern lumber industry, this battle cry of ours, 'A man's life for all the workers,' has been considered a menace, and therefore a crime in the eyes of the Southern oligarchy, for they, as well as we, are fully alive to the fact that we can never raise our standard of living and better our conditions so long as they can keep us split, whether on race, craft, religious or national lines, and they have tried and are trying all these methods of division in addition to their campaign of terror, wherein deeds have been and are being committed that would make Diaz blush with shame; they are so atrocious in their white-livered cruelty. For this reason, that they sought to organize all the workers, A. L. Emerson, president of the brotherhood, and sixty-three other union men are now in prison at Lake Charles, La., under indictment, as a result of the massacre of Grabow, where three union men and one association gunman were killed, charged with murder in the first degree, indicted for killing their own brothers, and they will be sent to the gallows or, worse, to the frightful penal farms and levees of Louisiana, unless a united working class comes to their rescue with the funds necessary to defend them and the action that will bring them all free of the grave and the levees.

"Further words are idle. It is a useless waste of paper to tell you, the Negro workers, of the merciless injustice of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, for your race has learned through tears and blood the hyenaism we are fighting. Enough. Emerson and his associates are in prison because they fought for the unity of all the workers.

"Will you remain silent, turn no hand to help them in this, their hour of great danger?

"Our fight is your fight, and we appeal to you to do your duty by these men, the bravest of the brave! Help us free them all. Join the brotherhood and help us blaze freedom's pathway through the jungles of the South."

THE JUBILEE.

The fiftieth anniversary of the issuing of President Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation has brought much comment together with one frightful cartoon in the New York *Sun*. On the whole, the comments are encouraging.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* says:

"The problem is still a far cry from the final solution. But if in half a century such gratifying progress—'up from slavery'—has been made, who shall venture to impose a limit to the Negro's developing possibilities of usefulness to himself and to his white neighbor?"

The Boston *Post*, reviewing some of the main facts concerning the Negro's rights, adds:

"Such is the development of half a century of acknowledged equal manhood. It marks an anniversary that may well be celebrated with pride and with confidence in the future."

The Indianapolis *Star* calls attention to the double meaning of emancipation:

"Emancipation of the slaves brought freedom to the black race, but its blessings were hardly less to the whites. It lifted a cloud that had always darkened the nation's fame and whose shame was felt by a multitude of citizens; it opened the way for a prosperity and an advance of civilization never before equaled in one-half century in the history of the world. Even yet the effect upon the nation of a genuine and universal sense of liberty has not been fully realized. The debt

to Abraham Lincoln is not yet wholly understood by either race that he benefited."

The New York *Nation* expresses the view of those who are still striving to emancipate black men and adds to it a curious and certainly unworthy touch of pessimism:

"As for the colored people themselves, despite all the injustice under which they still stagger, they have every reason both to venerate the name of Lincoln and to take heart as they look back fifty years. From a chattel to a human being—that is the measure of the effect of Lincoln's pen. To own one's body and one's soul; to know no longer the anguish of seeing wife and child sold to meet a creditor's demand or an executor's order—surely the burdens of to-day are but slight compared with those of half a century ago. And the future is still theirs. How can they falter or fail to have faith and hope when they think not only of the change since 1862, but of the story of the fifty years which preceded the proclamation? Their weakness to-day is chiefly their inability to organize to defend their rights. United they would stand far better; divided they fall before oppression. Can anything else be expected when one reflects on the conditions of their servitude? Or is there an innate race weakness such as the Jews have never known in the darkest days of their age-long battle against prejudice and injustice? Time alone will show."

The South has little to say, but the Oklahoma *City Times* is glad that slavery is gone:

"Well, it is all past. Perhaps not a single soul now living would care to defend the morality of the institution, and we of the younger generation, even although born and reared among former slaveholders, are rejoiced that the institution did not come down to us, and that Lincoln was persuaded to sign that proclamation fifty years ago.

"Perhaps it may be argued with force that the material condition of the Negroes has not improved, but certainly the moral condition of the white race, the former slave owners, is lifted, and the Negro's moral and intellectual life has been greatly advanced."

THE SOUTH AND EDUCATION.

The division in the white South concerning the advisability of giving the Negroes an effective education is plainly evident in this month's comment. The president of the board of education in Savannah acknowledges how badly the Negroes have been treated in school facilities, while a correspondent in one of the daily papers asks why they should be educated at all.

The Petersburg *Index-Appeal*, a prominent white paper, says:

"The Negroes of Petersburg need better school facilities. Conditions are so bad that they hardly should be discussed in print, unless, indeed, there should develop evidence that the city school board fails to appreciate the terrible lack of necessities which exists. It is certain that a portion of the board does recognize the needs of these schools, just as there is evidence that some members fail to do so.

"There may be more than one opinion as to the wisdom of educating the Negro, as many of them now are being educated, but there should be but one as to the absolute necessity of keeping him in good health. A tuberculous Negro is as much a menace to the whites as is a tuberculous white. It is impossible to have a city with a low death rate among whites if conditions which cause a high mortality rate among the colored are allowed to exist. And it is impossible to have a low death rate in Petersburg as long as conditions which exist in the Negro schools are permitted to continue."

The *New Era*, a colored paper of New Orleans, commenting on the forcing of twenty-four white girls into the colored public schools, charges that the reasons for this "are not far to seek," and it goes on to explain the failure of the colored teachers to pass the examination:

"Last year certain colored schools were in charge of white substitute teachers. Most of them were persons who had been found unfit to teach in the white schools. Their work was so unsatisfactory that the mothers of the children were loud in their criticisms and did not conceal the fact that they wanted colored teachers for their children. This is one cause.

"Last session the city normal school turned out nearly 200 graduates, a much larger supply than is required by the white schools here. Although educated in the long-cherished traditions of the South, these young ladies have manifested an inconsistent and peculiar preference for salaries earned in bringing up Negro children in the schools, although every one of them would balk at

doing the same thing in their homes. As years go by more teachers will be turned out and more colored schools will be required for these normal girls and a correspondingly less number of colored teachers will be needed. This is evidently the chief cause of the recent humiliation of the graduates of our schools.

"The examination questions were apparently framed with the purpose of eliminating as many of the colored teachers as possible. Mr. Bauer's wholesale accusation of the colored teachers of the intention of stealing in the examinations appeared to be a part of the program to unnerve the applicants, to put them in a state of mind where they would be unfit to do their best work. It was untimely and uncalled for, and as the results of examinations have indicated that his charges were wholly unfounded, Mr. Bauer will undoubtedly have quite a hard time convincing many of the applicants that they were not intentionally deprived of their certificates.

"Consequently, the whole situation is bad, and does little credit to our public-school system here. The attempt to discredit the work of the colored universities here in order to furnish an excuse to fill the colored public schools with white teachers is much to be deplored. The colored people do not want white teachers in the colored public schools, and the sooner the white teachers are removed from the colored public schools the better will it be for the advancement of Negro education here."

THE ULTIMATE PROBLEM.

Franklin H. Giddings, the sensational "sociologist" of Columbia University, has again expressed his reactionary opinions on the race problems in the public press. He is forced to "admit that the Negro has made some progress, that he has become a property owner, a small farmer, and has come to enjoy some of the privileges of the white man. But I cannot see that the Negro has made any political progress, and I cannot see that he is likely to make any in the near future. I am not discussing whether this is right or wrong. I merely wish to make clear the point, irrespective of its ethical considerations, that there is no likelihood that the Negro will be permitted to vote in considerable numbers where he may control results for a long time to come, or that he will enjoy the same privileges as the white man. The South does not intend to allow such a condition to come about. And of one thing we may rest assured—the North will never make another attempt to force the South to yield the Negro greater privileges."

He is, of course, sure that a great mistake was made in ever enfranchising Negroes, but apparently does not know whether he wants educated Negroes to vote or not. He concludes that:

"There is a considerable likelihood that for a long time to come the prejudice shown against the Negro in the skilled trades will continue. In many places in the North he has been effectively driven out. In the South he is not in such great danger because he has many opportunities there to work for his own people.

"I have mentioned these considerations as a general impression. I have not made a special study of this special aspect of a great problem. I feel certain, however, that the race problem is far from solution. I am also certain that the problem of the future will be even greater than that of the present. The white man considers the black man so inferior to himself that he does not oppose him or give him much consideration as a rival. But with the improved opportunities of the Negro, with a better education and extended privileges, he must inevitably claim a place alongside of the white man as his equal. If he should be able to back up his claim on the strength of educational and economic equality, then we may prepare to witness a race conflict compared to which the present situation is a love feast."

The comments on this outburst are rather to the point.

The Pittsburgh *Despatch* says:

"The Negroes, or the fractional Negroes, are here to stay in one form and in one condition or another. They have increased since the emancipation by Abraham Lincoln, the semi-centennial of which is celebrated, from about 4,000,000 to more than 10,000,000. They have established great schools and acquired hundreds of millions of property. They are in every calling and every profession and the proportion of those who are making good is equal to the proportion of the whites who are making good. They have been disfranchised in the South, in flagrant violation of constitutional enactments. They go on in their beleaguered way to try for the best.

"If we are to have a race war it will not

be the fractional Negroes' fault, but the fault of the persecutors of the Negro and of sociologists like Dr. Giddings."

The New Haven *Register* rebukes the "impatient sociologist" and says that he "shows an impatience—not to call it pessimism—which is hardly creditable to a thoughtful student of sociology. Professor Giddings can find not many miles from the seat of Columbia a race of white men who do not observably make any political progress, and show no signs of doing so. The subjects of Tammany Hall seem, superficially, to be about where they were in Tweed's time, and their condition under Murphy is not materially better. Shall we conclude then that things will never be any different in politically darkest New York?"

The Boston *Globe* is quite cheerful about the matter:

"But the Negro race will not stand still, nor will it be exterminated. With more and better education, with greater industrial and business privileges, especially in the South where the Negro has larger opportunity to work among and for his own people, his progress will be inevitable. Neither will the white race stand still, and when the Negro is able to enforce his claim of equality the white man will surely be sufficiently enlightened to avert the race conflict which Prof. Giddings predicts."

The Southern papers get considerable satisfaction, and yet they do not agree with the professor.

The Savannah *News*, for instance, says:

"Prof. Giddings' expressed fear that a great race war will come when the Negro reaches a plane where he can back up his demand for political equality shows that the professor still has something to learn. The opposition to the ignorant Negro's ballot was more because of the character than the color of the voter. * * * There is no sentiment here against the Negro in the professions provided he qualifies himself, and when he fits himself for the ballot there will be little if any obstacle to his having it."

So there you are! And then the Bourbon Charleston *News and Courier* steps in with its ancient pseudo-science:

"Are we face to face with another irrepressible conflict? We doubt it and we doubt it because we are sure that the Negro never will be able to show educational and economic equality. Dr. Smith, of Tulane University, in his splendid study, 'The Color Line,' shows conclusively that physiologically the Negro is precluded from intellectual progress comparable to that achieved by the white man. In the Northern schools it is often noted that black students are very precocious in the lower grades. Suddenly their growth in a mental way stops. They generally fall behind. The reason seems to be that the sutures of the black's skull become absolutely fixed at about the age of 16, while the growth of the white's skull continues until the man is 25 years old or more."

What is one going to do with rational people that talk like this? Where is all this race conflict coming from, and where does the real point of contact occur? If we turn to the Negro papers, we may more easily see. A little Texas colored paper, for instance, says:

"That this is a 'white man's country' is forcibly illustrated by the way Negroes are dealt with on the street cars and in all public places where masses of people congregate. Regardless of the restrictions limiting the races to certain confines, white people are prone to violate the law. They do it with impunity and wherever and whenever they please. When the cars are crowded white people stand and sit right along in the colored division, even if complaint is made. As a rule, the conductors don't kick, nor do they attempt to enforce the rules. On the other hand, when colored people act similarly, they are snatched up, arrested and fined for violating the law. In the Negro's case the conductors make it a point to see everything, enforcing the law with vengeance, humiliating 'Cuffy,' treating him with contempt and worse than a dog in most cases. In face of all this, too many of our people persist in butting in where they are not wanted, making it harder for us as a class, causing us to suffer indignities of every kind and degree, as though we were not members of the human race."

A colored woman soliciting for a Southern school said to the representative of a Worcester paper:

"Because the colored race is colored, and because we have been slaves, there will always be more or less prejudice, I suppose. We should be treated fairly. Have you ever been in a depot in the South? You will find the part of the depot that is reserved for white folks is clean and comfortable, but the part that is for the colored folks is generally dirty and uncomfortable. One day I got a

registered letter that had been in the post-office, I believe, for nearly ten days, but each day I called for it I could not secure it. I brought the matter to the attention of the authorities at Washington, and one day the postmaster told me the letter was there."

But for real insight to the innermost meaning of the race conflict commend us to Laurence Taylor. We do not know Laurence, neither does "Who's Who," but in a letter to the Boston *Herald* he states the case with startling perspicuity. "Negroes and whites," he says, "are different races and should have kept apart. Let the traveled, educated Negroes educate their own and live among them, and whites do the same. They cannot be mixed, as the wisest whites and Booker Washington have found out. It is not a matter of refinement, or learning, or that one feels superior; all such compromises lead to unfortunate results, unfair to both sides. There are many white men who are objectionable, even dissipated, clubmen; also many colored who might conduct themselves better than they—that has nothing to do with the case. It is instinct and race that are called into question, and only this."

This is getting down to the real pith of the matter, and it takes the Chicago *Examiner* to give the final word. Speaking of the deaths of children, it says:

"Science is already working out its race-suicide problem in splendid form. Reports show that the largest percentage of deaths of babies under one year is in families of the Negro and of the uneducated foreigner. The smallest percentage is in native white families."

We hesitate to suggest to the *Examiner* the use of strychnine as an aid to malnutrition.

There comes, however, one large and reassuring word from Mrs. Annie Besant, the great lecturer of England. From a speech at Letchworth Garden City Summer School we clip the following significant extracts:

"Let us take the colored races one by one and try to understand them. Britain has a great future before it in that work if the whole of our social system is going to be remodeled and reorganized on a new basis of human happiness instead of on the basis of struggle.

"China and Japan are both great and growing powers in the Pacific. Can we think it likely that, if their people are not treated with more courtesy and justice, they will always submit to a nation of 5,000,000 people? We should not do it if in their place. Is it possible for English people to discriminate constantly among colored races, and yet expect them always to remain quiet and submissive, taking an inferior place, which very often is not theirs?

"In Australia we have an enormous territory, with about 5,000,000 of white men, and an immense coast line. But even in Australia there are some parts that exclude the colored man. One condition is that a man must be able to write and translate in a foreign tongue. An Indian going there is given a passage in modern Greek to read and translate, and if he cannot do it he is turned back. No Indian prince can go into Australia. Arrangements are carefully made beforehand in order to prevent his landing when he reaches those shores.

"There is a terrible outcry when an outrage is done to a white woman, but nothing is said or done when tens of thousands of Kaffir women are outraged by white men. This is a most serious question, for no white woman was ever touched roughly by a Kaffir until his own women had been outraged by the white man. The advance of womanhood in South Africa has been destroyed by the white man, and not by the colored races. It is the white man who has broken down the barrier that surrounded her and left her no longer safe among the colored people. It is there that lies one of our greatest sins; the utter disregard of all morality where colored women are concerned; the shameful disregard of womanhood in every country where Britain has entered and where Britain rules. We send our missionaries over to them, but English people themselves should first be taught. I cannot forget the shame I felt one day when a great Indian orator, speaking of the English in India, turned to me and said: 'If you take away your religion, police and your brothels, we can manage the rest of the difficulties for ourselves.' It is no good sending missionaries while such a retort lies on on the lips of the Indian."

HOUSING THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO.

The Chicago *Post* says that the difficulty on the part of the Negro in getting decent housing facilities in Chicago is well brought out by Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge, who, with Miss Edith Abbott, has edited the series of housing reports of which this is a part. Miss Breckinridge, though a

Southern woman, displays a far greater breadth of view and a far more democratic attitude in her comments than many a Northern woman, we fear, would be able to show:

"The majority of people stand for fair play, and we believe that the persecutions of race prejudice which the Negro endures express the feeling only of a small minority of his fellow citizens of the white race, and that the great majority are completely ignorant of the heavy burden of injustice which he carries. Ignorance is always the bulwark of prejudice, and race prejudice is singularly dependent upon an ignorance which is, to be sure, sometimes wilful, but which is for the most part unintentional and accidental. It has come about, however, that the small minority who cherish their prejudices and persecute the black man because he is black have had the power to make life increasingly hard for him. And to-day they not only refuse to sit in the same part of the theatre with him and to let him enter a hotel which they patronize, but they also refuse to allow him to live on the same street with them, or even in the same neighborhood. Even where the city administration does not recognize a black 'ghetto' or 'pale,' the real-estate agents who register and commercialize what they suppose to be a universal race prejudice are able to enforce one in practice. It is out of this minority persecution that the special Negro housing problem has developed."

In Chicago this active prejudice has resulted in the gradual establishment of four colored districts. By forcing the colored people into those districts the real-estate interests have enabled the landlords there to obtain extortionate rents. One of the most glaring exhibits in this report is that revealing the rents exacted of the colored family. There is, for example, a table comparing what the colored family has to pay for a four-room apartment and what the immigrant families in various districts have to pay:

DISTRICT	MEDIAN
Jewish	$10.00 to $10.50
Bohemian	8.00 to 8.50
Polish	8.00 to 8.50
Stockyards	8.00 to 8.50
South Chicago	9.00 to 9.50
Colored (south side)	12.00 to 12.50
Colored (west side)	10.00 to 10.50

HISTORIC DAYS IN NOVEMBER

1. Revised constitution of Mississippi promulgated, 1890.

2. Disfranchisement defeated in Maryland the second time, 1909.

3. Riot at Danville, Va., growing out of the exercise of the elective franchise by Negroes, 1883.

4. Massachusetts made declaration against man stealing, 1646.

6. Convention of Negroes at Indianapolis asked for suffrage, 1866.

7. Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, while defending his presses against the assault of a pro-slavery mob, was killed at Alton, Ill., 1837.

8. Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy born, 1802.

9. Benjamin Banneker born, 1731.

11. Nat. Turner executed, 1831.

12. Twenty slaves petitioned New Hampshire legislature to abolish slavery, 1779.

13. Liberty party named J. G. Birney for President, 1839.

15. John M. Langston died, 1897.

16. First attempt by England to establish systematic slave trade, 1618.

17. Stephen S. Foster, abolitionist, born, 1809.

19. Organization of the 29th Connecticut Volunteers authorized, 1863.

20. Lemuel Haynes, first Negro in North America licensed to preach the gospel, 1780.

25. Andrew Carnegie born, 1837.

28. The French evacuated Haiti, 1803.

29. San Domingo annexation treaty negotiated, 1869.

Wendell Phillips born, 1811.

L. M. HERSHAW.

THE SECOND BIRTHDAY.

IT is natural that there should be many misapprehensions concerning the origin of THE CRISIS as well as its object. Every man with a cause longs to voice his belief. Most men, however, like the editor of this magazine, are held back by a very genuine doubt as to whether the public will recognize any worth in the proposed message. They know—or they think they know—that when the message is voiced, and the world realizes its full import, it will welcome and help actively in its spread.

The problem is then how to begin, how first to spread the message. Capital must be had for the launching of such an enterprise, but how may one raise it and whence? It seemed to the editor of THE CRISIS in earlier years that the benevolent rich might be approached with such a proposition. He forgot that the benevolent are besieged with schemes of all sorts and have little time or ability to judge a matter the justification of which lies in the far future. They are used to helping the thing that has already proven its worth.

A second method would be to furnish the necessary capital oneself and thus bridge the starving period. Now the capital that an American colored man, working at "colored" wages, can afford to put into a periodical of purpose is small. THE CRISIS is a small magazine run on extremely economical lines with a small—much too small—working force; but THE CRISIS costs over $1,000 a month to publish and distribute. Persons proposing to start small magazines should remember this. Yet an earnest agent who is about to buy twenty-five copies a month writes us: "I will handle your magazine if you will promise to enlarge it soon!"

The push of the unspoken thought that demands utterance is strong. So, despite cost and trouble, the editor attempted seven years ago a small magazinelike weekly, published at Memphis, Tenn., and called *The Moon*. The editor gave all his savings, some twelve hundred little dollars, into the hands of an ambitious young printer, turned the whole business responsibility over to him and furnished his services as editor free. The result was a flash of popularity, a year of unsystematic struggle, and then the clear realization that either the editor must give his whole time and help in the business management or give up. Now as the editor was earning his daily bread as well as capital for *The Moon* by his work as teacher, giving this up seemed impossible and the *Moon* set.

Immediately friends came forward and said: "But we must have such a periodical as you sought to give us. Suppose we help you bear the expense?" The result was a miniature magazine called *The Horizon*, published for nearly three years in Washington, D. C., by men who themselves paid the deficit out of their shallow pockets.

Here we faced a new problem. Scarcely 500 copies of the magazine were sold monthly, and, as the young manager flatly put it, it seemed as if "the people don't want it."

The problem was serious. If it was true that 10,000,000 serfs did not want a single untrammeled champion of their larger rights and ambitions, then the problem of those rights and ambitions was even graver than the editor had dreamed. But the editor doubted. Was it proven that the colored folk did not want such a magazine? Had they been given a fair chance to decide?

While these questions were being pondered the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and the editor was asked to become director of publicity and research.

Articles in this number show how difficult it is to try to get publicity on the Negro problem in the regular periodical press unless the black man is vilified and traduced. The editor therefore said to his board of directors: "If we are to have publicity, it must be through an organ of our own." The board hesitated. They knew far better than the editor that magazines cost money, and despite legends to the contrary, they had almost no money. Nevertheless, the necessity of some organ was great, and with many misgivings the board authorized an expenditure of $50 a month for a small monthly.

The editor will not soon forget that first number of THE CRISIS. William English Walling suggested the name; Mary Dunlop Maclean saw to the "makeup;" Robert N. Wood took the printing contract. But it was the editor alone, looking out on the forest of roofs of lower Broadway, who asked and asked again the momentous question: "Dare I order 500 copies—or 1,000?" And when in a fit of wild adventure he ordered 1,000 copies printed he felt like Wellington before Waterloo. Month before last THE CRISIS in a fit of parsimony ordered but 20,000 copies printed. The result was that orders for over 1,000 copies could not be filled, so that last month we returned to our regular 22,000 edition. When we tell facts like these, people imagine large capital and dividends in connection with our magazine. Not so. Not a cent of capital has been invested in the magazine, except that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has furnished the services of the editor free of charge. This means that THE CRISIS is not quite paying expenses, for it could not to-day, with its present income and expense, afford to pay an editor.

Can, now, a magazine like THE CRISIS ever become entirely self-supporting? Many of our friends doubt this. They point to the graveyard of ambitious and worthy ventures—*the Colored American* and the *Voice of the Negro* to name the latest—and say the American Negro has not yet reached the place where he appreciates a magazine enough to pay for its support. We doubt this assertion. We actually sell each month over 21,500 magazines. We are sure that if we could get THE CRISIS to persons who want it we could to-day sell 50,000. The problem of distribution is, however, extremely difficult. We cannot use the ordinary channels of distribution, but must have our own agents, and these agents must be largely missionaries in a crusade, because it hardly pays them to give their time to one magazine.

When once THE CRISIS can reach a circulation of 50,000 its permanence and independence are assured. Until it can there must always be the element of doubt as to whether such a magazine can command the requisite support. We believe it can. The experience of the first two years is more than encouraging. THE CRISIS has to-day the largest net circulation of any periodical devoted to the Negro race in America. If the growth in the next two years parallels the past, then one at least of our problems will be solved—the problem of publicity.

THE LAST WORD IN POLITICS.

BEFORE another number of THE CRISIS appears the next President of the United States will have been elected. We have, therefore, but this last word to colored voters and their friends.

Those who have scanned our advertising pages this month and last have noted an unusual phenomenon: the three great political parties have in this way been appealing to the colored vote for support. They have done this out of no love to this magazine, but because they needed the publicity which this magazine alone could give and because they knew that our news columns and editorial pages were not for sale. We commend these advertisements to our readers' notice. They are the last word of political appeal and they are undoubtedly sincere.

Taking them now and comparing and weighing them, and what is the net result? The Republican party emphasizes its past relations with the Negro, the recent appointments to office, and warns against the disfranchisement and caste system of the Democratic South. The weak point in this argument is that without the consent of Republican Presidents, Republican Congresses and a Republican Supreme Court, Southern disfranchisement could not survive a single day.

The Progressive party stresses its platform of social reform, so admirable in many respects, and points to the recognition given in its party councils to the Northern Negro voter. The weak point here is the silence over the fact that Theodore Roosevelt, the perpetrator of the Brownsville outrage, has added to that blunder the Chicago disfranchisement and is appealing to the South for white votes on this platform.

The Democratic party appeals for colored votes on the ground that other parties have done and are doing precisely the things that the Democratic party is accused of doing against the Negro, and this in spite of the fact that these parties receive the bulk of the Negro vote. If, therefore, the Negro expects Democratic help and support, why does he not give the Democrats his vote? The weak point here is that the invitation is at best negative; the Negro is asked to take a leap in the dark without specific promises as to what protection he may expect after the Democrats are in power.

In none of these cases, therefore, is the invitation satisfactory. Nevertheless, because the Socialists, with their manly stand for human rights irrespective of color, are at present out of the calculation, the Negro voter must choose between these three parties. He is asked virtually to vote.

1. For a party which has promised and failed.

2. For a party which has failed and promised.

3. For a party which merely promises.

We sympathize with those faithful old black voters who will always vote the Republican ticket. We respect their fidelity but not their brains. We can understand those who, despite the unspeakable Roosevelt, accept his platform which is broad on all subjects except the greatest—human rights. This we can understand, but we cannot follow.

We sincerely believe that even in the face of promises disconcertingly vague, and in the face of the solid caste-ridden South, it is better to elect Woodrow Wilson President of the United States and prove once for all if the Democratic party dares to be Democratic when it comes to black men. It has proven that it can be in many Northern States and cities. Can it be in the nation? We hope so and we are willing to risk a trial.

The PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE NEGRO

By JANE ADDAMS

AT the Progressive convention held in Chicago last August disquieting rumors arose concerning the Negro delegates. It was stated that although two groups from Florida, one of colored men and one of white, had been excluded because of a doubt as to which had been authorized to elect delegates, that the colored men only from Mississippi had been excluded; and that this was done in spite of the fact that the word "white" had been inserted in the call for the State convention which elected the accredited delegates. It did not seem sufficient to many of us that the credentials committee in seating the Mississippi delegation had merely protested against the use of the word "white," and some of us at once took alarm on behalf of the colored men.

With several others, who were also members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I appeared before the resolutions committee to point out the inconsistency of pledging relief to the overburdened workingman while leaving the colored man to struggle unaided with his difficult situation, if, indeed, the action of the credentials committee had not given him a setback.

In reply we were told that colored men were sitting as delegates in the convention, not only from such Northern States as Rhode Island, but that the Progressives of West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee and Kentucky had also elected colored delegates, setting a standard which it was hoped the States south of them would attain when the matter was left to those men of the South who are impatient in the thraldom of war issues and old party alignments. It was pointed out that such are the limitations of local self-government that free political expression can only be secured to the colored man through the co-operative action of the patriotic and far-seeing citizens of the States in which he lives; that only when white men and colored men together engage upon common political problems will the colored man cease to be regarded as himself a problem. We were reminded that under so-called Republican protection the colored man has practically lost his vote in certain States, not only through the grandfather clause, but through sheer intimidation in those counties where the line of party cleavage follows the line of race antagonism, all the whites being Democrats who vote, all the blacks Republicans who do not. We were further told that if there was any disposition to continue old shams, that it would be a very simple matter to insert in the Progressive platform the glittering phrases which had done valiant service for so long a time, not only to blind the colored man himself, but to enable the manager of a Republican convention to determine the result through the colored vote. By the simple device of appointing to federal offices colored men in the sections where there is no Republican party, these men elect themselves delegates to the national conventions and naturally repay their party by voting as their officeholding interests require. Certainly self-government is not being promoted by such political recognition on the part of the Republicans of the North any more than it is by the disenfranchising action on the part of the Democrats of the South. The Progressive convention took neither point of view and challenged at one and at the same time the traditional shibboleths of both parties.

When I asked myself most searchingly whether my Abolitionist father would have remained in any political convention in which colored men had been treated slightingly, I recalled an incident of my girlhood which was illuminating and somewhat comforting. I had given my father an explanation of a stupid decision whereby I had succeeded in bungling the plans of a large family party, and I ended my apology with the honest statement that I had tried to act upon what I thought his judgment would have been. His expression of amused bewilderment changed to one of understanding as he replied: "That probably accounts for your confusion of mind. You fell into the easy mistake of substituting loyalty and dependence upon another's judgment for the very best use of your own faculties. I should be sorry to think that you were always going to complicate moral situations, already sufficiently difficult, by trying to work out

another's point of view. You will do much better if you look the situation fairly in the face with the best light you have."

Certainly the Abolitionists followed the best light they had, although it differed from that possessed by the framers of the Constitution, whose light had also come from the eighteenth century doctrines of natural rights and of abstract principles, when ideas were pressed up to their remotest logical issues, without much reference to the conditions to which they were applied. Shall we be less fearless than they to follow our own moral ideals formed under the influence of new knowledge, even, although the notion of evolution has entered into social history and politics, and although "abstract" in the tongue of William James, has come to imply the factitious, the academic, and even the futile?

We all believe that a wide extension of political power is the only sound basis of self-government and that no man is good enough to vote for another, but we surely do not become mere opportunists when we try to know something of the process by which the opinion of the voter has been influenced and his vote secured. If it is done through bribery, we easily admit that the whole system of representative government has broken down, and we are not accounted to have lost our patriotism when we estimate how much of a given vote is due to the liquor interests or to manufactured opinion; only on the political status of the colored man is it still considered unpatriotic to judge, save as one who long ago made up his mind.

Even in that remarkable convention where, for the moment, individual isolation was dissolved into a larger consciousness and where we caught a hint of the action of "the collective mind," so often spoken of and so seldom apprehended, I was assailed by the old familiar discomfort concerning the status of the colored man. Had I felt any better about it, I speculated, when I had tried in vain for three consecutive years to have the question discussed by a great national association to whose purposes such a discussion was certainly germain? Was I more dissatisfied with this action than I had often been with no action at all? I was forced to acknowledge to myself that certainly war on behalf of the political status of the colored man was clearly impossible, but that there might emerge from such federal action as the interference with peonage, perhaps, a system of federal arbitration in interracial difficulties, somewhat analagous to the function of the Hague tribunal in international affairs. In fact, it has already been discovered at the Hague that many difficulties formerly called international were in reality interracial. Through such federal arbitration it may in time be demonstrated that to secure fair play between races living in the same nation is as legitimate as it is when irrational race hatred breaks out on those fringes of empire which the Hague calls "spheres of influence." The action of the Progressive party had at least taken the color question away from sectionalism and put it in a national setting which might clear the way for a larger perspective. Possibly this is all we can do at the present moment.

Viewing the third-party movement as a consistent, practical effort toward the "barn raising of a new party in the nation," which in its organization and program should not be along the old Civil War cleavages, we can predict but one outcome. The issues were those of political democracy and industrial justice—a merging of the political insurgency in the West and country districts with the social insurgency of the cities. Imbedded in this new movement is a strong ethical motive, and once the movement is crystallized, once as a body of people it gets a national foothold, once as a propaganda the rank and file are transfused with the full scope and meaning of social justice, it is bound to lift this question of the races, as all other questions, out of the grip of the past and into a new era of solution.

MARY DUNLOP MACLEAN
Late Managing Editor of THE CRISIS

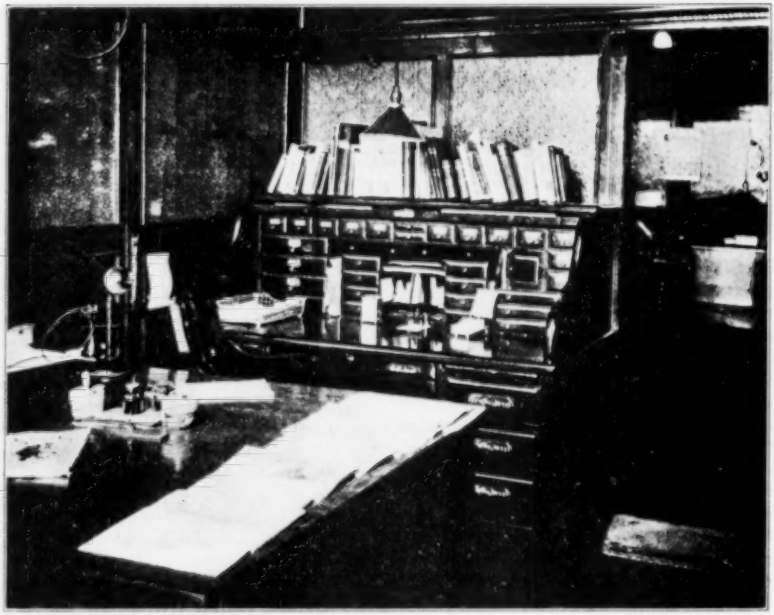
The COLORED MAGAZINE IN AMERICA

THE first colored magazine in America seems to have been *The African Methodist Episcopal Church Magazine,* edited by Dr. Hogarth, general book steward, and published in Brooklyn, in October, 1841. This magazine was in a sense the ancestor of THE CRISIS. Its editor seems to have been a native of Haiti, although little is known of his life and work. The prospectus of the magazine says: "In embarking upon this laudable enterprise it becomes our duty, in the onset, to inform our friends that such a work cannot be concluded with dignity and honor to our people unless it meets with ample supply of pecuniary and intellectual means. A fear of failure in obtaining these important contingencies had, in a great measure, prevented our brethren in their deliberations from coming to any conclusions on this important subject. But, judging from the present aspect of things, that the times have greatly changed in our favor as a people, light has burst forth upon us, intelligence in a great measure is taking the place of ignorance, especially among the younger portions of our people, opening the avenues to proper Christian feeling and benevolence—our brethren, from those important considerations, came to the conclusion, at our last New York annual conference, held in June, in the city of Brooklyn, to order such a work and lay it before the public for their patronage." This magazine lasted two or three years. Its publication was then stopped.

After an interval of forty years Bishop B. T. Tanner began the publication of the *A. M. E. Church Review Quarterly.* This has been published as a quarterly magazine from 1885 down to to-day and is now receiving new life from its recently elected editor, Dr. R. C. Ransom. The first number of the *Review* says editorially: "My church, the African Methodist Episcopal, at its recent quadrennial session in Baltimore, concluded to have not only a weekly paper, but a *Review,* for the present quarterly, but intended to be bi-monthly, with the management of which it honored me. I have, therefore, gentlemen, to ask at your hands the same friendly consideration you so generously accorded me when editor of the *Christian Recorder.* Grant an exchange. Speak a word—when merited. What we present is unique in the world of letters. If you think so, advise the thoughtful of your readers to subscribe for it."

A quarterly magazine, however, did not quite fill the bill, and in the years from 1845 to the present there have been a number of other adventures. There was, for instance, *The Repository of Religion and Literature,* published in Indianapolis and afterward in Baltimore for several years. In later days the *Colored American Magazine,* started by a colored man who put the savings of his life from days' labor into it, was first issued in Boston in 1900, and rapidly attained a wide circulation. At its zenith it distributed 15,000 copies. Then, however, its troubles began. It was at one time sold for debt, but Colonel William H. Dupree rescued it, and it seemed about to take on new life when further difficulties occurred. It was suggested to the editor, who was then Miss Pauline Hopkins, that her attitude was not conciliatory enough. As a white friend said: "If you are going to take up the wrongs of your race then you must depend for support absolutely upon your race. For the colored man to-day to attempt to stand up to fight would be like a canary bird facing a bulldog, and an angry one at that." The final result was that the magazine was bought by friends favorable to the conciliatory attitude, and transferred to New York, where it became so conciliatory, innocuous and uninteresting that it died a peaceful death almost unnoticed by the public.

Meantime, a firm of subscription-book printers, then known as the J. L. Nichols Company, conceived an idea suggested to it by one of its agents of publishing a colored magazine in the South. *The Voice of the Negro* appeared in January, 1904, and a young man then just out of college, Mr. J. Max Barber, was made its editor. *The Voice of the Negro* proved the greatest magazine which the colored people had had. It reached a circulation of 15,000, and at one time

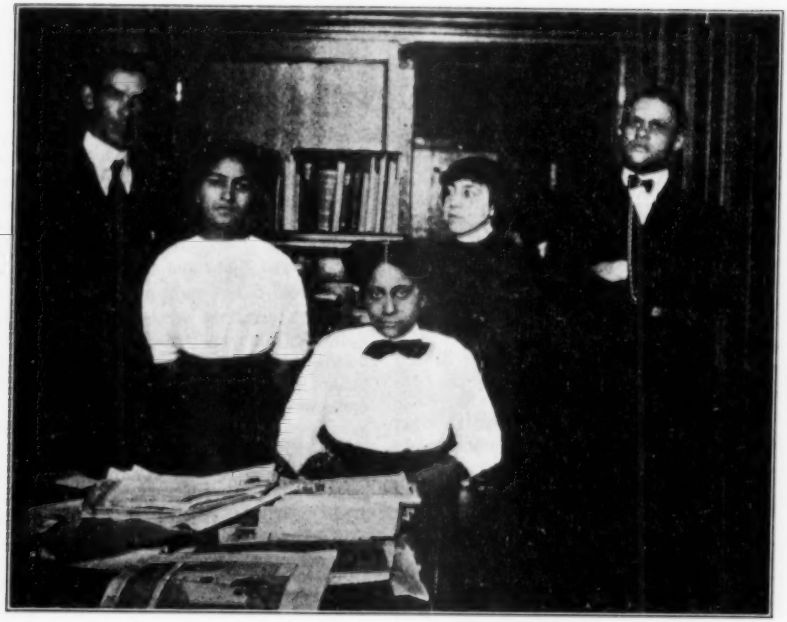


THE CRISIS "SANCTUM SANCTORUM"

printed 17,000 copies. It was a magazine of fifty-five pages of reading matter, was illustrated and well edited. The whole story of its final failure has not been written, and perhaps ought not to be for some years to come. Suffice it to say that the fault did not lie with Mr. Barber. The editorial work was well done. The business side, on the other hand, under a succession of men, was not as well attended to; nevertheless, it was not a failure, and the magazine might still be alive had it not been for sinister influences within and without the race that wished either to control or kill it; and finally, had it not been for the Atlanta riot. Mr. Barber found himself continually hampered by interests which were determined to edit his magazine for him. When he asserted his independence these interests appealed to the firm which was backing him and finally so impressed them that they determined to unload the proposition on a new corporation. Stock in the corporation sold slowly, but it was beginning to sell when the instigators of the Atlanta riot drove Mr. Barber from the city. Removing to Chicago, Mr. Barber found himself facing the task of re-establishing his magazine with practically no capital. He made a brave effort, but finally had to give up and *The Voice of the Negro* ceased publication. Its successor is THE CRISIS, and it looks as though this latest candidate for popular favor was going to be permanently successful.

Since then THE CRISIS represents so interesting a series of magazines, perhaps a word should be said for its force and dwelling place. As one rides down Broadway, New York, past the tallest building in the world, one comes to the old postoffice on City Hall Park and Park Row, the center of newspaperdom. Vesey Street is the westward extension of Park Row across Broadway. There, opposite the moss-grown graves of St. Paul's churchyard, rises a brownstone building of the older office design. You come up a long flight of stairs and enter our rooms.

The big library and workroom greets you first. From this you pass by the agents and subscription clerks to the two editorial offices or to the offices of the secretary of



THE CRISIS BUSINESS FORCE—Messrs. Turner and Holsey; Misses Allison, Jarvis and Sousa

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and her assistant. Turning the other way you find the cashier in his den and the advertising man, and finally the store and mailing room with their periodicals and machine. The present force of THE CRISIS consists of an editor, three clerks, a bookkeeper and advertising man, four unpaid editorial assistants and 489 agents in the field.

Many persons do not understand the relation of THE CRISIS to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The association owns and publishes THE CRISIS and uses the magazine as its especial organ of publicity. At the same time it aims to make THE CRISIS more than a mere bulletin of its work, and to conduct it as a magazine of general information in its sphere. The two institutions make, therefore, parts of one great whole.

GEORGE WESLEY BLOUNT, of Hampton, Va.
The First Subscriber to THE CRISIS

To no part of its force does THE CRISIS owe more than to its little army of agents scattered over the world. They sell every month from six to 1,400 copies each. Finally, we cannot forget, and would not have our readers forget, our first paid-up subscriber: Geo. W. Blount, of Hampton Institute, Virginia.

The RELIGION OF SLAVERY

By CHARLES EDWARD STOWE

ERASMUS was once asked, by a mystified statesman, why the theses of that obscure monk, Martin Luther, had made such an ominous commotion in the world. "Because he touched the monks on their bellies and the Pope on his crown," was the aphoristic reply of the caustic oracle.

Something of the same nature may be said of the unusual excitement caused by the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" sixty-one years ago. The significance given to what would have been otherwise a comparatively obscure effort was that it touched the haughty Slave Power at the same time on its belly and on its crown.

Slaves were property, and property protected by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of the country. An attack on any form of property is an assault on the whole basis of civilized society, and therefore revolutionary and dangerous in the highest degree. This was the view not only of the slaveholder of the South, but of some of the best people in conservative New England and the Northern States in general.

That slavery was morally wrong, and a national sin that made the whole American people subject to the divine wrath, was therefore a most discomforting and disquieting suggestion to conservative, orthodox, church-going people both North and South. They felt with regard to it as the old lady did when she first heard the simian origin of the human race hinted at in a sermon. "Perfectly shocking! Why, even if it were true, we ought to try to hush it up somehow!"

So good people tried to hush up the moral wrong of slavery by shifting the responsibility on to God and the Bible. This Mrs. Stowe attacked with pitiless satire, and added insult to injury by putting her attack in the mouth of the slaveholding Southerner St. Clare.

"Suppose," says the garrulous and irresponsible individual, "that something should bring down the price of cotton once and forever, and make the whole slave property a drug in the market, don't you think that we should soon have another version of the scripture doctrine? What a flood of light would pour into the Church at once, and how immediately it would discover that everything in the Bible and in reason went the other way."

It was certainly very shocking in Mrs. Stowe to hint at any possible connection between religion, which we are all bound to believe sky born, and economics, which orthodox people are prone to confess with a groan to be hopelessly "earthly, sensual, devilish!" The ruthless Mrs. Stowe not only attacked the property of pious Southerners, but the very religion in which they found a divine sanction for holding that sort of property. This exascerbation of her crime was sure to bring down on her head the pious wrath of good, respectable, orthodox folk both North and South, and it did.

A most interesting confirmation of this is to be found in the files of the New York *Observer* under the date of September 23, 1852. The editor of that Gibraltar of orthodoxy writes in sad sincerity: "We have read the book and regard it as anti-Christian. We have marked numerous passages in which religion is spoken of in terms of contempt, and in no case is religion spoken of as making a master more humane, while Mrs. Stowe is careful to present the indulgent and amiable masters as men without religion. This taint pervades the work as it does all the school of modern philanthropy. It is essentially a non-religious if not a non-evangelical school. Mrs. Stowe labors through all her book to render ministers odious and contemptible by attributing to them sentiments unworthy of men or Christians."

The writer of these words was a sincere man, earnest, exigent and conscientious in what he wrote. We can imagine the satisfaction with which the article was read by men like the Rev. Doctor Nehemiah Adams of Boston and New Orleans—a New England man and author of that lubricious

antebellum treatise "The South-side View," which gained him the title of "South-side Adams" among the scoffing and gainsaying Abolitionists. That marked copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with the passages carefully pointed out in which Mrs. Stowe spoke of religion "in terms of contempt" would certainly be exhilarating reading in the light of to-day; but we can ourselves easily imagine what and where they were. It is not hard to find them.

Pious old ladies at the South read this editorial, and when, after careful inquiry, they discovered that Mrs. Stowe was received into reputable society at the North felt that they had mournful confirmation of their gloomy suspicions as to the condition of morals and religion in the Free States. For the Southern slaveholder was very orthodox and pious in the strict theological sense of the word. He believed in the Bible from cover to cover as a book of divine oracles, and found therein abundant confirmation of his doctrine that slavery was a divine institution, and a blessing to both races. It was unavoidable therefore that Mrs. Stowe from his point of view should appear to be a very wicked woman, guilty of attempted robbery and actual blasphemy. And such is the subtle relation between religion and economics.

"The modern school of philanthropy" with which the editor of the *Observer* somewhat vaguely classified Mrs. Stowe is also an interesting subject for analysis. We can imagine it to ourselves pictured to the eye in the manner of Kaulbach's celebrated cartoon of the Reformation. In the background we would arrange the Brook Farmers, and Transcendentalists, and contributors to the *Dial*. There are Emerson, Ripley, Margaret Fuller and Theodore Parker—Emerson whose "Divinity School Address" had recently scared the enlightened Unitarians and even the young James Russell Lowell half out of their wits; Theodore Parker, who denied the miracles and the divinity of Christ; Margaret Fuller, who had announced in the *Dial* that Christianity was a prison.

Then there would be represented as standing about in various attitudes Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Garrison with his *Liberator*, Horace Greeley with his *Tribune* and Henry Ward Beecher with a copy of the *Independent*. In the foreground, where Von Kaulbach has pictured Martin Luther, is Harriet Beecher Stowe with "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

"See the mighty host advancing,
Satan leading on!"

No wonder the editor of the *Observer* was alarmed. He doubtless sought and found consolation in the doctrines of election and total depravity.

Mr. James Russell Lowell has somewhere reminded us that "Time makes ancient good uncouth." It is easy for us in the light of this modern world in which we live to smile at the ancient wisdom of the Southern slaveholders and their Northern sympathizers; but we must not forget that they were good men and true and had on their side all the conservative and conserving influences of human society, as well as the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The anti-slavery movement must be reckoned with those onward-reaching forces that respect neither conservative traditions, constitutions, laws, churches nor thrones, but tear them all down ruthlessly in the holy name of humanity and of progress. Mrs. Stowe with her "Uncle Tom's Cabin" belonged, like all the rest of the Beechers, to the destructive rather than the constructive forces of the universe. That she should have been recognized as such in her day and generation we can but acknowledge as inevitable.

Slavery, social inequality and war all have had an important part and place in the evolution of man on this planet. Slavery has gone, and we are asking to-day if war and social inequality are to follow.

The lesson of the anti-slavery movement is in brief this: Social traditions, constitutions and laws are often on the side of wrong and injustice. When they are, sooner or later they have to go, even though protected by the sanction of religion. If it is true that might makes right it is truer still that in time right will make might. If economics for a time dominate religion, the day will surely come when religion will rise and dominate economics. It was so yesterday and it will be so to-morrow.

We hear much to-day about the "leopard's spots." They are harmless compared to the "tiger's claws!" The "tiger's claws" seem to be thirsting for the poor leopard's blood, if the leopard forgets that he is an "inferior being" and can never therefore aspire to

political equality with the tiger. In a speech at Poplarville, Miss., in April, 1907, Governor Vardaman said "How is the white man going to control the government? The way we do it is to pass laws to fit the white man, and make the other people come to them. * * * If necessary every Negro in the State will be lynched, and it will be done to maintain white supremacy. * * * The Fifteenth Amendment ought to be wiped out!" Here are the tiger's claws! Here is something worse than economics, race hatred and prejudice that utters itself in bestial threats of blood and slaughter subversive of the very foundations of civilized society.

It will go down, however, as slavery went down. The very stars in their courses will fight against it.

"Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold rules the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow keeping watch above His own."

WHAT TO READ

The Autobiography of an ex-Colored Man. Boston. Sherman, French & Company. 1912.

"This vivid and startling new picture of conditions brought about by the race question in the United States makes no special appeal for the Negro, but shows in a dispassionate, though sympathetic, manner conditions as they actually exist between the whites and blacks to-day. Special pleas have already been made for and against the Negro in hundreds of books, but in these books either his virtues or his vices have been exaggerated. This is because writers, in nearly every instance, have treated the colored American as a whole; each has taken some one group of the race to prove his case. Not before has a composite and proportionate presentation of the entire race, embracing all of its various groups and elements, showing their relations with each other and to the whites, been made."

The preceding paragraph quoted from the opening lines of the preface to this very interesting book gives in a way a résumé of it. It is indeed an epitome of the race situation in the United States told in the form of an autobiography. The varied incidents, the numerous localities brought in, the setting forth in all its ramifications of our great and perplexing race problem, suggests a work of fiction founded on hard fact. The hero, a natural son of a Southerner of high station, begins his real life in a New England town to which his mother had migrated, runs the whole gamut of color-line experiences, and ends by going over on the other side.

The work gives a view of the race situation in New England, in New York City, in the far South, in city and country, in high and low society, with glimpses, too, of England, France and Germany. Practically every phase and complexity of the race question is presented at one time or another. The work is, as might be expected, anonymous.

The South and the Negro. Negroes in the Urban Movement. The Negro in New York. *Outlook*, June 29, 1912.

The Negroes in the South are, according to one of these articles, flocking to the cities. And the reason for this is due, not to the call of city life, but largely to the "avidity with which Negroes are seizing educational opportunities. They insist on being in the towns where good schooling is possible."

Also a commission of Southern university professors has decided to deal with the Negro from an educational point of view. Eleven State universities are to furnish one professor each. The article goes on to remark: "The formation of this commission is a manifestation not only of the vital work which Southern men are doing in social economics, but of their real leadership in matters of education, for the primary function of education is to enable men to learn how to live in right relations with one another, whatever their race and whatever their country."

All this sounds very well and encouraging. But it is to be hoped very earnestly and in no spirit of carping that the work of these leaders "in matters of education" will be carried on in a manner far more scientific than that employed recently by one Mr. Charles Stelzle.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

MEMBERSHIP.

SIXTEEN new members have been added to the association, and this month we also welcome a new branch—St. Louis—to membership. We now have ten branches. The constitutions of two more are under consideration and we are in daily receipt of applications from all parts of the country.

May we not especially urge on persons in sympathy with our work the necessity of personally joining this association? We need your names, your influence and your money. As one friend writes, "The clock is not going fast enough!" Let us make time, and fast time, between now and January 1.

MEETINGS.

MISS MARTHA GRUENING, the assistant secretary, on September 15 addressed a meeting at the Harlem Zion Church on the work of the association. October 7 Miss Gruening spoke before an enthusiastic meeting of the Washington branch at the Shiloh Baptist Church.

The Boston branch held the first of a series of meetings Wednesday, October 9, with the Hon. Albert E. Pillsbury and Dr. Francis H. Rowley as speakers.

FUNDS.

IN the campaign for funds the association is now making we need the active cooperation of every member. Although the work of the year has been most encouraging, we must have larger resources at our disposal if we are to cope successfully with the almost daily demands made upon us to fight the increasing violence and discrimination which are spreading to such an alarming degree in this country. Even the aged, insane women and morally defective children are not exempt, as was evidenced recently by the fate of Anne Bostwick in Georgia, Virginia Christian in Hampton, Va., and the lynching in West Virginia of a probably innocent colored man. The association makes a special appeal to each member to help in this work by securing two $5 members or the equivalent, $10, in memberships in some form. Literature for free distribution and membership blanks will be furnished upon request. Checks should be drawn to Mr. Walter E. Sachs, treasurer, 60 Wall Street, New York City.

LEGAL REDRESS.

THE association's investigation of one of the most horrible lynchings of 1911 has been completed. An account of this will appear in one of the leading popular magazines, of which an exact notice will be given later in THE CRISIS.

In response to an anonymous appeal from a correspondent in Bluefield, W. Va., the association secured the services of Mr. James Oppenheim, the well-known journalist and novelist. Mr. Oppenheim made a careful investigation of the situation, the results of which appeared in *The Independent* of October 10.

MEMORIAL FUND.

AT the last meeting of the board of directors it was voted that the Mary Dunlop Maclean memorial fund, or so much of it as may be necessary, be devoted to the publication of literature in the interest of the association, each publication to bear the name of the fund. The memorial notice which appeared in the August CRISIS has been reprinted. The memorial committee consists of the following: Miss Mary White Ovington, secretary; Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Miss Mary Moseley, Mrs. Frances R. Keyser, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, Willoughby Walling, Martha Gruening and Margaret Wycherly Veiller.

SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR

(Died September 1, 1912, aged 37)

Written for the London *Daily Standard* by ALFRED NOYES

I.

Farewell! The soft mists of the sunset sky
Slowly enfold his fading birch canoe!
Farewell! His dark, his desolate forests cry
Moved to their vast, their sorrowful, depths anew.

II.

Fading! Nay, lifted through a heaven of light,
His proud sails, brightening through that crimson flame,
Leaving us lonely on the shores of night,
Home to Ponemah take his deathless fame.

III.

Generous as a child, so wholly free
From all base pride, that fools forgot his crown,
He adored Beauty in pure ecstasy,
And waived the mere rewards of his renown.

IV.

The spark that falls from Heaven not oft on earth
To human hearts this vital splendor gives;
His was the simple, true immortal birth!
Scholars compose; *but this man's music lives!*

V.

Greater than England, or than Earth discerned,
He never paltered with his art for gain;
When many a vaunted crown to dust is turned,
This uncrowned king shall take his throne and reign.

VI.

Nations unborn shall hear his forests moan;
Ages unscanned shall hear his wind's lament,
Hear the strange grief that deepened through his own,
The vast cry of a buried continent.

VII.

Through him, his race a moment lifted up
Forests of hands to Beauty as in prayer,
Touched through his lips the sacramental cup,
And then sank back, benumbed in our bleak air.

VIII.

Through him, through him, a lost world hailed the light!
The tragedy of that triumph none can tell,
So great, so brief, so quickly snatched from sight;
And yet—O hail, great comrade, not farewell!

¶ The Negro lawyers of Oklahoma have formed a bar association, with forty members.

¶ Dr. A. B. Terrell, a colored man, has been made assistant physician to the board of health of Fort Worth, Tex. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago and of the Harvard Medical School, and has taken an active part in combating the epidemic of meningitis in Texas.

¶ In Hutchinson, Kan., a jury composed entirely of colored men has been trying a case. Charles Fulton, deputy probate judge, remarked that he never saw a finer set of men on a jury than those six colored men, one of them a doctor, another a minister and a third a law student, and all of them men who have good education and character. It attracted a lot of attention, being a very unusual occurrence in Kansas legal circles.

¶ A company of contractors who are building automobile engines in New York are developing a new ignition system which is the invention of a colored man.

¶ In Perry, Ind., Higby Morgan, a colored boy, has taken the W. C. T. U. medal for the best composition.

¶ A man named Kelly, who is doing a turn called "The Virginia Judge" on the stage, so angered the colored people of Montreal by his use of the word "Nigger" that he had to have police escort home.

Publishers' Page

The Christmas Number

An exquisite cover by Richard Brown; a novelette, the strongest piece of fiction we have published, by Jessie Fauset.

Ready November 22—order early.

Also a dainty Christmas card with baby faces.

THE DUNBAR COMPANY

To keep abreast with the remarkable growth of THE CRISIS, we have combined our mail-order and service departments into one big department, which will be known as THE DUNBAR COMPANY.

It is fitting that we inaugurate this feature in this, our Anniversary Number, as it marks the realization of carefully laid plans and novel ideas for the convenience, pleasure and comfort of our thousands of reader friends.

Aside from books, pamphlets, patterns, etc., we will add pictures and postcards of Negro subjects, music by Negro composers, jewelry, toilet articles, wearing apparel, etc.

Our splendid location in the busy section of the nation's largest city enables us to go directly to manufacturers and producers of these articles for our purchases and sell them to you at such prices as will eliminate the wholesalers' and jobbers' profits.

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In the Christmas Number we will offer you some splendid holiday gift suggestions, and during the succeeding months other new and novel features to this department will be added.

After Christmas there will be a large illustrated catalogue, brimful of articles, many and varied, to meet the every-day requirements of each member of the family, not forgetting the low prices to save you money.

Why the Negro Should Be a Progressive

Suffrage in this country, so far as the Negro is concerned, has been a national travesty. It has been the one standing blot upon the United States, that has won for her the merited contempt and just criticism of the intelligent and justice-loving world. Suffrage was bestowed upon the Negro by the Republican party and was stolen from him by the Democratic party. "Thou shalt not steal" has had about as much place in the political decalogue of the Southern Democrats as it had in the political decalogue of the stand-pat Chicago Republicans of June, 1912.

Under the disfranchising laws of the several Southern States, Negro suffrage has become so restricted and worthless as a political factor that the Republican party has tacitly decided that Negro suffrage was a failure, and not the slightest effort was put forth to prevent the nullification of those amendments to the Constitution which gave the Negro freedom, citizenship and suffrage. And it remained for the Taft administration to set the seal of official approval upon the unconstitutional legislation of the South, by the wholesale removal of the Negro from federal office throughout the South, and declaring that no more would be appointed where it was objectionable to Southern whites.

Upon this Taft propaganda, "lily whitism" took on new life and blossomed and bloomed in the South as never before. The Negro was politically down and out. He had been bound by his political enemies, the Democrats, and basely deserted and betrayed by his political friends, the Republicans. He stood without a political friend, and not a voice throughout the length and breadth of the land was lifted in sympathy or in defense. It was the Negroes' political extremity; and smarting under the grievous injustice that had been done them, and spurred on by desire for political revenge, thousands reviled the name of Taft, and thousands pocketing their pride, hat in hand, started toward the camp of their ancient enemies, the Democrats, intent only on making friends and getting even with Taft, the "lily whites," and the Republican party, a combination of political hypocrites, ingrates and highwaymen.

"God maketh the wrath of men to praise him;" and if there ever has been a demonstration of these words, plain and positive, it was demonstrated at Chicago in June. The men who manipulated the Chicago convention forced the nomination of Taft in haughty disregard of decency and honesty, little dreamed of what they were doing. The Negro delegates, who aided in forcing Taft upon the Republican party, despite the thousand-voiced protests of Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the West, had not the slightest idea that they were stabbing the Republican party to death; and thus the political selfishness and hate of a few white men and the political blindness of a few Negroes accomplished in a day what might have otherwise taken a score of years to encompass; namely, the death of the Republican party. Brought into existence in 1856 to protect four millions of enslaved Negroes, it was killed, unintentionally, however, in 1912 by less than threescore Negroes, the slaves of political bosses and the hirelings of the "Almighty Dollar."

The Republican party is dying of old age—political senility. It has outlived its usefulness. It has served its missions. It has run its race, its days are numbered, and on November 5 the Republican party will go to its long home and the mourners will go about the streets.

The disintegration, death and annihilation of the Republican party will mean a second emancipation of the Negro. There will remain no more political debts to be paid and the Negro will be absolutely free to vote for whatever party his conscience may direct him to support.

The disfranchisement and "Jim Crowism" of the South have come about because the Republican party was too cowardly to prevent the same, although it had a Republican President, a Republican Congress and a Republican Supreme Court, to legislate, interpret and enforce the plain mandates of the Constitution.

From 1856 down to 1908 the Republican party had never failed to mention the Negro in the platform. It remained for the platform of 1912, for the first time in the history of the party, to be absolutely silent and forgetful of the Negro, in strict and consistent accord with the Taft Southern policy. And yet the Negroes renominated him! And in return, his platform forgot them!

Deserted by the Republican party, undesirable, and not wanted in the national Democratic party, which way shall the Negro turn his face, and whither direct his steps? Over yonder on the hill of progress is the sun-glinted camp of the Progressives. Waving proudly above the camp is a banner upon which is inscribed: "We invite into our ranks men and women entirely without regard to their former political affiliations to their creed, their birthplace or the color of their skin." Will the Negro go in and enroll? Will the Negro still hanker after the flesh pots of dead Republicanism? Will the Nego use sense—common sense—instead of sentiment? Is he so blind that he cannot see in the Progressive party a Godsent opportunity for political and civic betterment, such as he has not had since the days of reconstruction? Is he so deaf that he cannot hear the voice of self-interest and self-protection calling and urging him to join the Progressive party?

What has he to gain by casting his lot with this new party? Everything! What has he to lose? Nothing! For down at the very bottom of the civic and political life of this country, any kind of political upheaval, political disturbance, political earthquake, which destroys old conditions, old parties and old systems, and old ideas, must redound to the benefit of the Negro, whether it is so intended or not.

President Taft, under political fright and pressure, has uttered more words of political comfort and performed more acts of political benefit to the Negro since Theodore Roosevelt announced himself a candidate for the Presidency than at any other time during the three years of his term of office. Governor Wilson has not failed to declare himself a political "Christian gentleman," recognizing the political brotherhood of all men under the Constitution, as he welcomed Negro support, and thus far has kept from the stump in the North "Jim Crowers" and disfranchisers of the South, lest the Negro voter should become frightened and take to his heels at the sight of his real leaders, supporters and controllers of his party.

Is the Negro to be fooled by the deathbed utterances of Taft and the hypocritical utterances of Wilson? The sensible, thoughtful Negro will support the Progressive party because it **emancipates him from party slavery**, wipes out the aged party debt to the Republican party, and permits him to vote according to the dictates of his own conscience; because he can enter the Progressive party as a charter member, and be in the party, of the party, and an actual part of the party; because it offers to him the line of the least resistance; because he will not be dealt with as racial mass, but as a man, recognized by worth and merit; because the success of the Progressive party will do away with the Africanizing of three or four political appointments in Washington as a return for the support of race; because in following the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, he will be following not Theodore Roosevelt the man, but Theodore Roosevelt the incarnate representation of a new party whose platform recognizes no creed, no race, no color; political equality of sex; physical conservation of men, women and children, and the conservation of natural resources; a minimum wage; control of the trust; protection to the laborer, and the enforcement of the Constitution and every amendment.

In choosing the least of three political evils, the Negro will certainly choose the Progressive party.

In choosing the best of three political leaders, the unbiased Negro will surely choose Theodore Roosevelt—the man of courage and convictions, fearless and incorruptible—the man who does things, and who will do more to help the Negro than any other Presidential candidate now before the people.

SHOULDN'T THE NEGRO THEN BE A PROGRESSIVE AND VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON?

JAMES H. HAYES, Richmond, Va.

(Adv.)

QUO VADIS?

For forty-two years the Republican party has ridden up to the gates of heaven on the back of the Negro and then tied him on the outside. With the patience of the pack mule the black man has submitted. The grand old party of Abraham Lincoln would surely come out to the outer gate where he stood tethered and lead him into the promised land! Such implicit confidence, such blind, dogged faith, the world has seen but once before—the time nearly 300 years ago, when the white men in their square-rigged sloops sailed down the Eastern Atlantic from Europe to Africa, and with words of honey, trinkets and dross enticed into slavery the forbears of the present trustful, gullible black American. Brought hither in droves he has allowed himself to be herded ever since, until to-day he stands before the world as the greatest psychological phenomenon in all history; actually demonstrating that it is a possibility for millions of people of a given racial persuasion to think alike for nearly fifty years, no matter how varying and differing the propositions submitted to his consideration. Is this a sign of mental activity or mental stagnation or, to be fair, does it mean that in American politics, when white men are naturally differing and disagreeing over great live questions of civic and economic policies, black men must forever herd themselves around the standards of a dead issue? Does it mean that while the white man advances from the discussion of Greenbackism, Bimetalism and Tariff Schedules to Government Ownership of Public Utilities, the Direct Election of United States Senators, the Initiative and Referendum; the polemics of the black man must ever be predicated upon Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War?

This is a grave question in any kind of a civilized government. In a democratic republic it is a question which connotes a condition of positive danger. For in our government each citizen is a sovereign and the very health and life of the nation depends upon the intelligent deliberation and wisdom with which each sovereign meets the questions submitted to him. An ignorant electorate is a voidable danger; an electorate not ignorant, but stubbornly, blindly and traditionally, prejudiced and vindictive, is a menace which must be overthrown or it will in time subvert all government of the people, by the people and for the people. The enlightened publicists of the nation, irrespective of party, have observed this dire phenomenon, and North and South, East and West, white men of all shades of political beliefs have grown callous to the black man's pleadings for political and civic liberty under the Constitution. Of the servants of the Lord the Negro received only the one talent, and as it came to pass in the parable of holy writ he comes forth to-day crying: **"And I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth. * * * " And the talent which was his was taken from him and given to him who had the ten talents.** Nearly half a century ago the talent of American citizenship was given to the Negro. Wherein to-day, after voting like wooden blocks all these years, can he show an increase of his powers as a citizen? Almost *pari passu* with the onward progress of the Republican party the Negro has descended lower and lower in the scale of American citizenship. He cannot accuse the Democratic party as being the responsible and sole agent of his retrogression; for the power, the nearly absolute power, has been in the hands of the Republican party throughout all but eight of these dreary years of hopes born to die again. Whether in that clause apportioning direct taxes and representatives among the people of the several States, or in that which makes the House of Representatives the sole judge of the qualifications of its own members, or in the clause which guarantees to each State a Republican form of government there is ample law in the Constitution. It isn't legislation which is needed, but the honest desire to enforce the law already written. This the Republican party has failed to do. **There are two kinds of sins—the sin of commission and the sin of omission, and the not doing of those things which we ought to do is just as culpable as the doing of those things which we ought not to do. This in a general way sums up the relation of the black man to the government in which he lives. There are some facts of recent occurrence which show to what low estate the Negro has fallen in the house of his friends.**

At Chicago, last June, sixty-six black men held the balance of power in the Republican convention. They could have nominated Roosevelt. They nominated Taft; not that they loved Roosevelt less, but because, as black Republicans, they obeyed the behests of the regular party machinery. For their loyalty they asked for a radical platform plank for the race they represented. They received the weakest expression for justice to Negroes which has appeared in a Republican platform since 1872.

When Roosevelt announced the date for his Bull Moose convention for last August there were hundreds of thousands of black men whose bosoms heaved with the

enthusiastic hope that at last the hour had struck when the dashing Chevalier of the "Square Deal," "The Door of Hope," "All Men Up and No Men Down," would make solemn asseveration of those Presidential utterances which in a former day had wrung from their throats lusty and exultant hosannas. "On to the Roosevelt convention" was the cry. "The Crusader of the Common People is the Moses who will lead us out of the wilderness." Every Southern State elected its full quota of colored delegates. Like burning excelsior their enthusiasm was a "fast but fading fire;" for there came out of the cloudless heavens a thunderbolt which staggered the nation and dashed to the ground, with a cruelty unparalleled, the high hopes of the mighty black phalanx of delegates who stood ready to rush to the standards of their idol. It was the Julian Harris letter, in which Roosevelt, in the insane delusion that he might capture some Southern States, proclaimed his opposition to the sitting of Southern colored men in his convention. Disaster followed disaster. Hoping still that the convention, whose symbolic hymn was "Onward, Christian Soldiers," would listen to their humble pleadings, these colored delegates, through the kindly and noble offices of Prof. Spingarn of Columbia University, himself a delegate, offered the following plank for incorporation in the platform of the Bull Moose party!

"The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 90 to 30 per cent., deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms in which other citizens vote."

The reading of this plank instantly struck a popular chord and everything bade fair for its passage, when a man arose and made objection. He was given profound attention, for he was a man whose renown extended over two continents. He had been a member of the Cabinet of Theodore Roosevelt and later Minister to Turkey. In private life he was a merchant prince and philanthropist. This man himself was a member of a despised race of people whose struggles for civic and religious liberty have been the marvel of centuries. He encouched his objections to this plank of justice to another oppressed people in earnest but brief speech. He carried the day and the plank was voted down. **This man was Oscar Straus, the Bull Moose nominee for Governor of New York.** Thus was the Negro betrayed in the house of his friends.

But where can he go?

The Democratic party, standing on the Jeffersonian principle of "equal rights to all, special privileges to none," is opposed to the practice of placing in its party platforms declarations making of any class or race its special pledges; it believes that planks of this kind are not only inserted for decoy purposes, but that they are of a piece with class legislation. At its national convention in Baltimore, last June, Senator Newlands of Nevada, a member of the resolutions committee, made a stubborn attempt to have his plank declaring for the national disfranchisement of colored persons made a part of the Democratic platform. He made a direct and impassioned appeal to the Southern members of the committee, among whom were Senators Tillman and Vardaman. When the vote was taken it stood 39 to 1. Not only did this Democratic committee on resolutions refuse to deliver this wanton attack upon colored men, in spite of the fact that colored men had always voted against the Democratic party; but in the convention itself marked courtesies were extended to the members of the National Colored Democratic League, and to the ladies who accompanied many of them.

An earlier instance of this disposition of the Democratic party to extend the olive branch to the black man was afforded shortly after the Congressional campaign of 1910, when colored voters in unprecedented numbers assisted in the election of the first Democratic Congress since 1894. Speaker Champ Clark addressed a delegation of colored men in the Speaker's Room at the Capitol, and in a speech remarkable for its profound sincerity assured the colored people that inasmuch as colored men were finally beginning to identify themselves with the Democratic party, the Democratic members of the House would see to it that no legislation inimical to Negroes should be given serious consideration as long as he was Speaker. And this promise was religiously observed to the closing day of the Sixty-second Congress.

It does not require a philosopher or a statesman to see a light in a sky long shrouded in darkness. All that is needed is clear vision and a mind free from the cobwebs of ancient history and traditional prejudice. Governor Wilson is the highest type of a Christian gentleman and scholar. His antecedents, training and public life are absolute guarantees of an aversion to everything which savors of "Man's inhumanity to man." But seldom in their political career have colored men had the opportunity to vote for a man who possessed his sympathy with the struggles and aspirations of humanity. The opportunity lies open to them and there are thousands who will accept it. The others we exhort as did Rienzi the Romans: "Awake, arise, or be forever fallen."

(Adv.)

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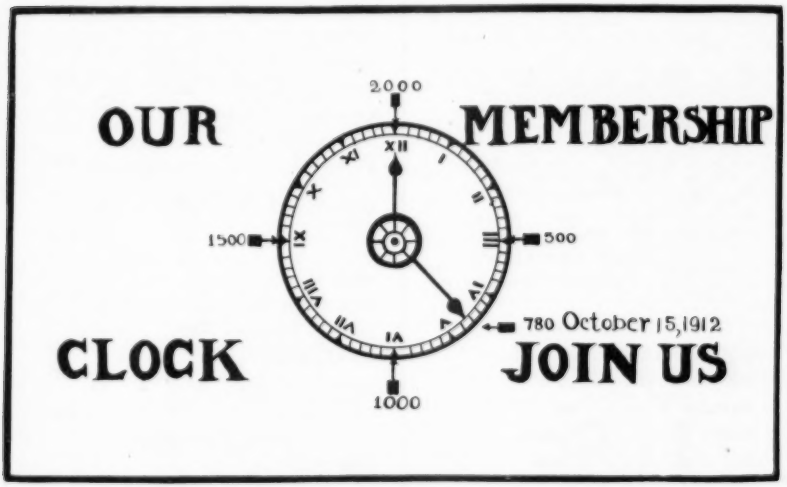

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